CULTURAL HISTORY OF ORISSA

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CULTURAL HISTORY OF ORISSA

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The present work is first of its kind on the study of Orissa during the rule of the Somavamsa, which covers a period between A.D. 885-1110. Written in a lucid style and enriched with the latest finds of source materials, as a result of the author's field work as a Curator of the Orissa State Archaeology Department, this work presents a comprehensive picture of the politico-socio-economic and religious conditions of Orissa and her people during the early medieval times.

The present study becomes more interesting for the discussions for the significance it has on the relation of the Somavamsis with their contemporary powers of India such as the Kalacuris, the Colas, the paramaras, the eastern Calukyas and the Palas.

The importance of this work lies in the fact that it has a detailed discussion on the art and architecture of the period, which include magnificent temples like the Muktesvara, the Rajarani and the Lingaraja, accompanied with seventy photographs.

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विषय संख्या ______ आगत नं० 101331
लेखक RATH, B.K
शीर्षक Cultural History of Orissa (A.D 855-1110)

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पुस्तकालय

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DONATION

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(A.D. 855—1110)

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पुस्तकालय
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गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

B.K. RATH

SUNDEEP PRAKASHAN
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DEDICATED
To
The Sacred
Memory of my uncle late G.C. Rath, who
Passed away while this work
was in Progress.

PREFACE

In 1894-95 J.F. Fleet published his article "Records of the Somavamsi kings of Katak" in the *Epigraphia Indica.* Since then scholars became interested in the history of the Somavamsa of Orissa. Before Fleet inscriptions of the dynasty were edited by scholars like J. Prinsep, Babu Rangalal Banerjea, R.L. Mitra and P. Ch Ghosa. But these scholars confused the issue by identifying the donors of the above inscriptions with the members of the Kesari Vamsa of the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri, following A. Stirling's *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, published in 1882 and W.W. Hunter's *Orissa* (two volumes) published in 1872. Fleet in his learned article, mentioned above, finally established the identity of the dynasty as Somavamsa.

Ever since many scholars have contributed to the study of the history of the Somavamsa and their times in separate chapters of their works or articles published by them in different research journals. The very few works, especially devoted to the study of the Somavamsi period in Orissa, are the *Chronology of the Bhaumakaras and the Somavamsis of Orissa,* (K.C. Panigrahi, Bhopal, 1961), *Inscriptions of Orissa* vol. IV (S.N. Rajaguru, Bhubaneswar, 1965) and *Political History of the Somavamsis of South Kosala and Orissa* (S.R. Nema, New Delhi, 1978). While the first work relates mainly to the fixation of the chronology of the Somavamsa, the second and third, respectively, contain studies in the inscriptions and the political history of the Somavamsa.

So far no attempt has been made by any scholar to make an exclusive study of the political and cultural history of Orissa during the rule of the Somavamsa. In this present work, for the first time, I have made an humble attempt for such a study on the Somavamsis and Orissa of their times. The Somavamsis were masters of ancient Orissa from about the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. to the first decade of the twelfth century A.D., during a formative phase of Orissan history and culture. There was alround development in all spheres of human life during this period.

The work, in the following pages, is divided into eight chapters. The chapters deal, respectively, with the historical geograhpy of Orissa before the advent of the Somavamsi rule, sources for the study, origin of the dynasty, chronology, political history, administration and society, importance of the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri for the history of the period and religious condition as well as the development of art and architecture during the period. In two appendices, given at the end, discussion on the capital cities of the period and the information gleamed from the epigraphic records of the period are given.

The present work has bestowed upon me a Ph. D. degree from the Berhampur University. I express my thank to the authorities of the university for the award of a scholarship for research on this topic. I am deeply indebted to my revered teacher Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, M.A., D. phill (Cal.), Retd. Professor of history, Berhampur University, who has initiated me into the field of historical research, encouraged me to take up this present work and guided me at every stage during the completion of this work, inspite of his failing health and old age. Words are not enough to express my deep sense of gratitute to him for all his guidance and help.

I am grateful to Dr. K. Mojumdar, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond.), Professor of history, Nagpur University, my former teacher at Berhampur University and Mr. S.N. Rajaguru, Retd. Eqigraphist of Orissa State Museum, for their kind help and guidance in the initial stage of this work. I also acknowledge with gratitude the kind help I received from Dr. B. Venkataraman, M.A., D.Litt. (Utkal), I.A.S., who has kindly helped me with the interpretation of the Tamil sources incorporated in this work.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. S. Tripathy, M.A., Ph. D., Epigraphist, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar for her kind help in deciphering some of the new copper plate inscriptions of the Somavamsi period incorporated in this work and other help rendered during the completion of this work.

I am grateful to Pandit Nilamani Mishra and Dr. D.N. pathy M.A., Ph. D. of the Orissa State Museum, Bhuvaneswar and Orissa Tourism Development Corporation, respectively for their valuable suggestions and help during the preparation of this work.

I am thankful to my brother Mr. Ashok Kumar Rath, who was responsible for most of the fine photograhs given in this work. At the same time I am obliged to the suprintendents of Orissa State Archaeology and Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, for kindly allowing me to utilise some of the photographs given in this work.

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My wife Snehalata deserves my special thanks for all her forbearence and understanding in facing the difficulties during the completion of the present work.

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Last but not the least I express my gratitude to M/s. Sundeep Prakashan for taking up the publication of this work, which she did in short time and in a commendable manner.

B.K. Rath

ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Ancient India
AIHI	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
ARB	Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar
ASI, AR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASR, WI	Archaeological Survey Report, Western India
CBKSO	Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa
CCIM	Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Musuem
Cf.	Compare
Ch.	Chaper
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
DHNI	Dynastic History of North India
Des. Cat.	Descriptive Catalogue
DMO	Dynasties of Medieval Orissa
Ed.	Edited by, Editor
EI	Epigraphia Indica
Fig.	Figure
GDAMI	The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India
HCIP	History and Culture of the Indian People
HGDHO	Historical Geography & Dynastic History of Orissa
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
I Arch.	Indian Archaeology
IO	Inscriptions of Orissa
JAHRS	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JAS	Journal of Asiatic Society, Calcutta
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JASB (letters)	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters
JASB, P	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Proceedings
JASB, NS	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series
Jat.	Jataka
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society
JESI	Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India
JIH	Journal of Indian History
JKHRS	Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society
JNSI	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JOH	Journal of Orissan History
JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute

JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal
PHSSKO	The Political History of the Somavamsi kings of South Kosala and Orissa
PIHC	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
POHC	Proceedings of the Orissa History Congress
PS	Police Station
RY	Regnal Year
SHACO	Side lights on History & Culture of Orissa
SII	South Indian Inscriptions
SOHAA	Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology & Archives
TCJRTO	The Cult of Jagannath & the Regional Tradition of Orissa
UUHO	Utkal University History of Orissa
Vol.	Volume

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अ	a	क्	k	ढ्	ḍh	य्	y
आ	ā	ख्	kh	ण्	ṇ	र्	r
इ	i	ग्	g	त्	t	ल्	l
ई	ī	घ्	gh	थ्	th	व्	v
उ	u	ङ्	ṅ	द्	d	श्	ś
ऊ	ū	च्	c	ध्	dh	ष्	ṣ
ऋ	ṛ	छ्	ch	न्	n	स्	s
ए	e	ज्	j	प्	p	ह्	h
ऐ	ai	झ्	jh	फ्	ph	क्ष्	kṣ
ओ	o	ञ्	ñ	ब्	b	त्र्	tr
औ	au	ट्	ṭ	भ्	bh	ज्ञ्	jñ
अं	ṁ	ठ्	ṭh	म्	m		
अः	aḥ	ड्	ḍ				

Common words and modern names are usually written without diacritical marks.

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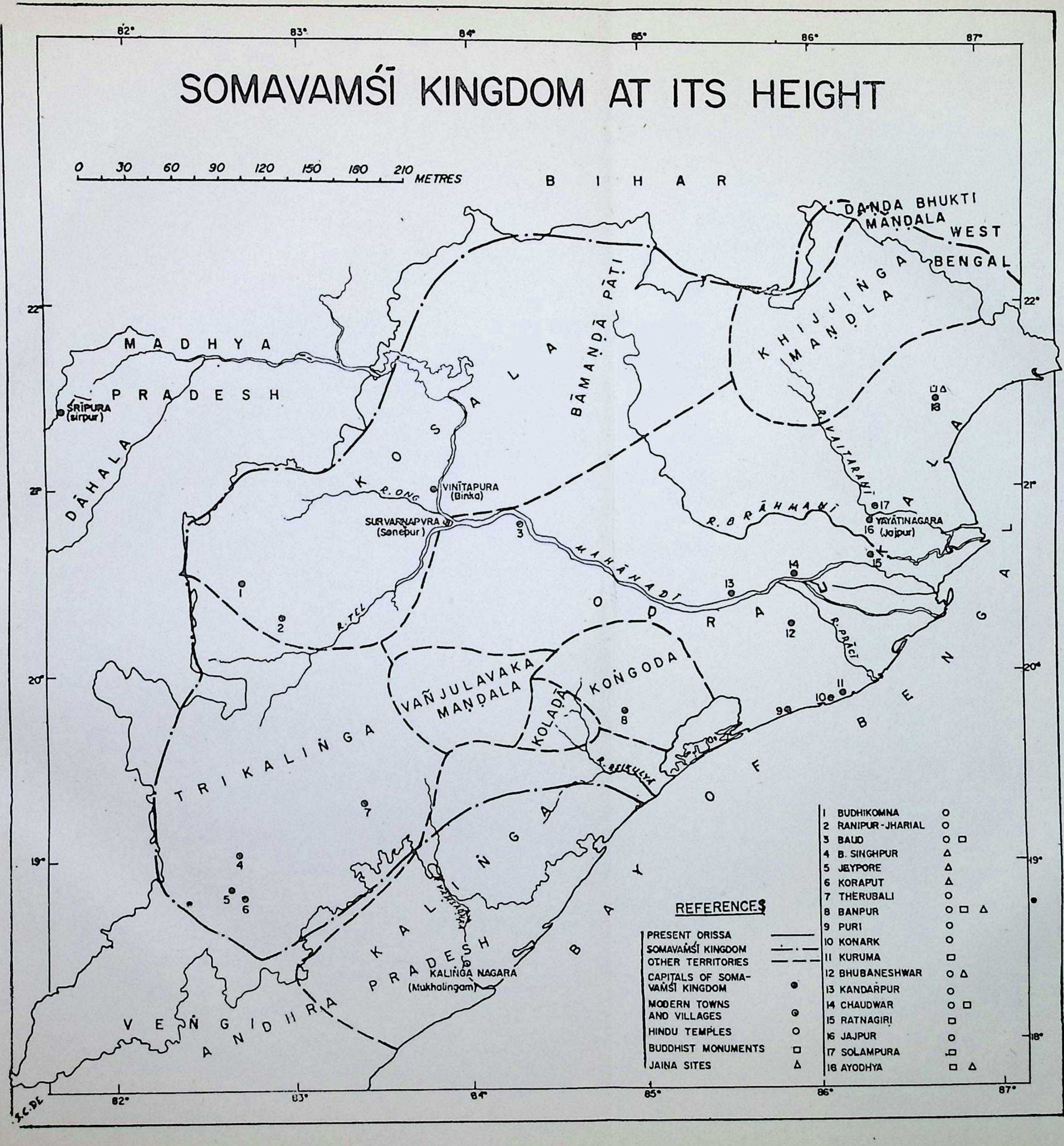
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KHIJJIṄGA MAṆḌLA
BĀMANḌĀ PĀṬI
K O S A L A
MADHYA PRADESH
DĀHALA
SRĪPURA (sirpur)
VINĪTAPURA (Binka)
SUVARṆAPURA (Sonepur)
R. ONG
R. TEL
MAHĀNADĪ
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KONGODA
KOLADA
R. RṢIKULYĀ
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VAMSADHARA
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13 KANDARPUR ○
14 CHAUDWAR ○ □
15 RATNAGIRI □
16 JAJPUR ○
17 SOLAMPURA □
18 AYODHYA □ △
S.C. DE

1

ORISSA BEFORE THE RISE OF THE SOMAVAṀŚA

The State of Orissa is located roughly between 17°48″ and 20°.34″ north latitude and 81°.24″ and 87°.29″ east longitude on the eastern sea board of the Indian peninsula. It is bounded by the Bay of Bengal in the east, West Bengal and Bihar in the north, Madhya Pradesh in the west and Andhra Pradesh in the south. Politically the present State of Orissa is of recent origin. It came into being in 1948[1] when the Princely States or feudatory States were amalgamated with the province of Orissa, created in 1936[2] during the British rule in India. Orissa is the land of people who speak, mainly, the Oriya language, which comes under the Aryan languages of Eastern India[3]. The word "Orissa" is derived from the word Oḍra-deśa[4].

In ancient times certain geographical units of the present Orissa had different names. They were Kaliṅga, Utkala, Oḍra, Tosala and Kosala*. Besides, there were other smaller territories known at different times as Koṅgoda, Śvetaka, Khiñjali *maṇḍala*, Khijjiṅga *maṇḍala*, Yamagartta *maṇḍala*, Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala*, Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala*, and Trikaliṅga. The Somavaṁśa power rose in Kosala about the last part of the ninth century A.D. At that time the above mentioned territories were under the conrtol of different royal families. The Somavaṁśīs in course of their time came into contact, either as friend or foe, with some of the ruling families of this period. As such it would be better that we discuss, first, about these different geographical units of Orissa describing their historical geography and dynastic history during the pre-Somavaṁśī period before we proceed to narrate the history of the Somavaṁśa dynasty.

During the early ages only four units of ancient Orissa were known. They were Kaliṅga, Utkala, Oḍra and Kosala. We deal with them systematically below.

Mythical Origin

The Purāṇic literature describe their mythical origin. According to the Purāṇas the territory of Utkala is older than that of Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Kosala.

*The upper Mahānadi Valley or the present Sambalpur-Sonepur tract of western Orissa constituted parts of Kosala as revealed from the inscriptions of different royal families such as the Śarabhapurīyas and the Pāṇḍuvaṁsis who ruled over these areas alongwith the Chattisgarh region of Madhyo Pradesh. In order to distinguish it from the Kosalo territory of northern India the word south Kosala has been apparently used by many scholars in their respective works, which we shall have occasion to refer later.

The Purāṇas record that Ilā-Sudyumna was one of the ten sons of Manu*. Ilā-Sudyumna was a *Kiṁpuruṣa*[5], who was alternatively becoming woman and man for some time. As Sudyumna he became the father of three sons, Utkala, Vinītāśva and Gaya. India was divided into ten parts by Manu who gave one portion each to his sons. Out of Ilā-Sudyumna's share in the eastern region of India, Utkala had received the Utkala territory[6].

Regarding the origin of Kaliṅga the Purānic accounts reveal that king Bali flourished in the family of Pururavas, who was a son of Ilā by Budha, and ruled over the eastern Āṇva realm[7]. He was childless and at his request the blind sage Dīrghatamas* begot, by the law of levirate, five sons on his queen Sudeṣṇā.[8] These sons were Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Sumha. After Balī the eastern Āṇva kingdom was divided among his sons. As per this suggestion it would mean that the Āṇva territory had extended from modern Bhagalpur eastward upto the mouth of the Ganges and from there southward upto Ganjam in Orissa, covering the entire east coast.[9]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[10] states that Dīrghatamasa had begot a sixth son named Oḍra on the queen Sudeṣṇā. As such it would appear that the Oḍra territory was a sixth division of the Āṇva realm, being the territory assigned to Oḍra.

Regarding Kosala (Upper Mahānadī Valley) it is believed[11] that the long stay of Rāmacandra, the prince of Ayodhyā, during his banishment in the area around modern Chattisgarh[12] gave it the name south Kosala, after his original homeland Kosala. The *Rāmayāṇa*[13] records that after Rāmacandra his kingdom was divided between his two sons, Lava and Kuśa. The former obtained Kosala and made Śrāvasti his capital. While Kuśa received the south Kosala territory and ruled from the city of Kuśāvatī or Kuśasthalīpura near the Vindyas. The mythical origin of Utkala, Kaliṅga and Oḍra locates them in eastern India while south Kosala has been located near the Vindyas.

Land after the People

Some scholars hold the view that Utkala, Kaliṅga, Oḍra and south Kosala denoted certain territories following the names of the tribes or the stocks of people inhabiting those territories[14]. H.K. Mahatab has tried to show that 'Okkal' and 'Oḍḍisa', which denotes the word cultivator in certain Dravidian languages, are the source for the Sanskrit words 'Utkala' and 'Oḍra'.[15] According to him the word 'Kaliṅga' has been derived from the name of a community known as 'Kāpus' and 'Kaliṅga' or 'Kāliñji', which is still to be found living on the southern banks of the Chilika lake in Orissa. Kaliṅgas are still to be

---

*Vaivasvata Manu has been represented in the Purānic accounts as one of the earliest kings of India. Pargiter, *A.I.H.T*, p. 42.

*The blind sage Dīrghatamas was the son of Utathya. While living in the hermitage of his cousin Saradvanta he indulged in gros immorality with the brides of the younger Autathyas. So he was expelled from the hermitage and was made to float down the Ganges. He was rescued by king Bali in the Āṇva territory and stayed in the Āṇva kingdom., N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 69, fn; Pargiter, A.*I.H.T.*p- 158.

found in the region between Ichhapuram (formerly in Ganjam district under Madras presidency and now in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh) and Chipurupalli (in Vizagpatam district)[16]. There is another stock of people, known as Kāliñjas, found in the same area.[17] The difference between the two is that while the Kaliṅgas speak Telugu the Kāliñjas speak Oriya.[18] There is a race of agriculturist known as 'Oḍs' who inhabit many parts of Orissa, mainly around the present Khurda town in the Puri district.[19] According to R.L. Mitra, this race represents the remnants of the original people who gave their name to the province.[20]

In the *Māhābhārata*[21] it is mentioned that a large number of people from Magadha or eastern Kosala migrated to the south due to the terror of the ruler Jarāṣandha. According to Pargiter[22], these people settled in modern Chattisgarh region which later came to be known as south Kosala, named after the people who settled there.

Ancient Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical literature refer to the people rather than the land while mentioning about the territories under discussion.

In the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* a reference is given to the people of Kaliṅga*. While describing their territory. Elsewhere, the *Mahābhārata* refers to the people of Kaliṅga more than once.[23] Similarly, we get reference to the people of Oḍra in the *Mahābhārata*.[24] In the *Droṇa Parva*[25] of the *Mahābhārata* Karṇa is said to have conquered the Utkalas alongwith the Mekalas, kalingas, Āndhras and others. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*[26] Sugrīva is stated to be directing Suṣeṇa to send his retinue among other countries of the south to Mekala, Utkalas and Daśārṇa. The Purāṇas[27] such as the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya* allude to Utkalas as a people associated with Mālavas, Karusas and Mekalas.

The people of Utkala has been always refered to as the tribe of Okkala in the Buddhist literature. Utkala *Janapada* of Buddhist literature was inhabitated by the Utkala people.

The *Mahāvagga*[28] of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to the 'Ukkal *janapada*', the homeland of Tapassu and Bhallika, who were the first lay desciples of the Buddha. The Jātakas also mention Ukkala *Janapada* in connection with the episode of Tapassu and Bhallika.[29] Kaliṅga is frequently referred to in the Jātakas.[30]

The classical writers, too, refer to the people while describing the land. The Greeks[31] describe about Caliṅgas and Oretes. All these would tend to show that the ancient geographical units of Orissa got their names from the stocks of people inhabiting them rather than from the name of some founder monarchs. Regarding Utkala it is said that Utkala has been derived from the word Ut-Kaliṅga or *Uttara-Kaliṅga* meaning north Kaliṅga.[32]

Historical Geography Kaliṅga :—Among the four geographical units of ancient Orissa *viz*. Utkala, Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Kosala, Kaliṅga was the most important power which very often over powered the other three territories by the force of her arms and succeeded in building up a far flung empire which could endure long

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**Bhātṛbhih sahito virah Kaliṅgāṅ prati Bhāratal* (*I*) *Lomaśa uvāca etc. Kaliṇgāṅ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇi nadi* (*II*).

in ancient times.[33] Kaliṅga during these times constituted the rich and fertile coastal land stretching from the river Ganges in the north to the Godāvarī in the south with a hinterland of mountains and uplands in the west.

The *Mahābhārata* gives us an indication as to the northern boundary of Kaliṅga. In the *Vana Parva* the sage Lomaśa is represented as explaining to Yudhiṣṭhira from the mouth of the Ganges that 'this is the territory of Kaliṅga people where flows the river Vaitaranī.[34] This would indicate that the river Ganges formed the northern boundary of Kaliṅga during the epic age.[35]

Words such as *Gaṅgaridum Caliṅgarum Regia*, *Gaṅgarides Caliṅgae*, *Macco Caliṅgae* and *Caliṅgae* occur in the accounts of Megasthanes[36] and Pliny.[37] Scholars take the words *Gaṅgaridum Caliṅgarūm Regia* and *Gaṅgarides Caliṅgae* to mean that the Ganges formed the boundary of Kaliṅga.[38] Accordingly we can assume that the river Ganges formed the northern border of Kaliṅga at least upto the first century A.D. But we are not sure about the southern border of Kaliṅga during these times, which might have been the river Godāvarī.

In about the fourth century B.C. Kaliṅga was probably under the control of the Nanda dynasty of Magadha as known from the Hāthī Gumphā Inscription of Khāravela.[39] As such Kaliṅga would have formed an administrative unit of the Nanda empire. But soon it became independent. Because in the year B.C. 260[40] or 261.[41] Aśoka of the Mauryan dynasty, which supplanted the Nandas in Magadha, invaded Kaliṅga. From the Rock Edicts of Asoka found at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and Jaugada in the Ganjam district we know about the two administrative units of the then Kaliṅga under the Maurya empire.[42] They are Tosala and Samāpā. While the former gradually grew up into a distinct geographical unit, which we will discuss below, the latter is not met with in any of the later records. During Aśoka's rule most probably Kaliṅga extended from the river Ganges in the north to the Riṣikulyā river in the south along the coast while the forest and hilly tracts to the west were known as *Āṭavika Rājya*.

It is likely that Kaliṅga shook off the Magadhan yoke after the death of Aśoka and by first century B.C. Kaliṅga was again an independent power under the Ceta dynasty. The illustrious monarch of this dynasty Khāravela, who was the third ruler of the line, raised the glory of Kaliṅga to a record height during his short but eventful reign of thirteen years.[43] During his time the boundaries of Kaliṅga grew in all directions. Khāravela's sphere of influence comprised of Mathura in the north to the Pāṇḍyān kingdom in the south and the territories of Rathikas and Bhojakas (in the Maharastra region) in the west.[44] Since Khāravela was never an empire builder and his conquests were never permanent in nature, soon after his death, the conquered territories, most probably, become independent.

The rise of the Sātavāhana dynasty in Āndhra, probably, put an end to the Ceta rule in Kaliṅga. The Sātavāhanas are known to have extended their domain upto Magadha.[45] This would lead us to believe that Kaliṅga formed a part of the Sātavāhana empire though some scholars doubt it.[46] The Nasik Cave Inscription[47] of Vāśisṭhī Putra Pulumāvi of this dynasty mentions that the Mahendra mountain (located in the border between the Ganjam and Srikakulam districts of present Orissa and Andhra Pradesh respectively) and the eastern seas (Bay of Bengal obviously) formed the eastern border of the empire of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The Satavahana rule in ancient Orissa is further corroborated by some archaeological finds in Bhubaneswar having close affinity to Sātavāhana art found else-where.[48] The discovery of Sātavāhana coins from the southern parts of Orissa lends further support to the above theory.[49] The Sātavāhana[50] rule over Kaliṅga probably came to an end after the death of Vāśīṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, the son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, some time after 154 A.D.[51] But we do not know about the extent of Kaliṅga during the rule of the Sātavāhana, Kaliṅga, during this time, most probably denoted the same territory as under Āsoka.

The discovery of large numbers of Puri Kuṣāṇa coins from different part of Orissa[51a] has led some scholars to suggest a period of Kuṣāṇa rule over parts of ancient Kaliṅga-present coastal districts of Orissa.[52] But another group of scholars suggest a period of Muruṇda* supremacy over ancient Orissa on the same numismatic basis. The latter group argue that the coins discovered in Orissa were certainly imitations of the imperial Kuṣāṇa coins.[53] Secondly, they were assigned to a period when the Kuṣāṇa rule had already ended.[54]

The Muruṇḍa supremacy in Kaliṅga is further supported by the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Ceylonese Chronicle *Daṭhāvaṁśa*[55] (A.D. 310). In it Guhaśiva, the king of Kaliṅga is referred to in as a feudatory under the ruler of Pāṭaliputra. Besides, the Bhadrak Stone Inscription[56] of Gaṇa, assigned to the third century A.D., refers to the king having the title of Mahārāja. This led K.C. Panigrahi to assume that Gaṇa was probably a feudatory under the Muruṇḍas.[57] A gold coin discovered from the excavations at Sisupalagarh near Bhubaneswar has been assigned to the third century A.D. by A.S. Altekar. The legend on the coin has been read by him as "Mahārajadhasa Dharmadamadharasa", whom he identified with a king of Muruṇḍa family, ruling over a part of Bihar and Orissa with their capital at Pāṭaliputra.[58] All these would suggest that the Muruṇḍas were overlord of Kaliṅga for some time during the second-third century A.D.

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription[59] records the southern expedition of the great Gupta king Samudragupta. We do not get any reference to Kaliṅga from the above inscription. Instead, we know the names of several kingdoms alongwith their rulers, which were located in and around the region of ancient Kaliṅga. They are *viz.* Mahendra of Kosala,[60] Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra,[61] Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura,[62] Svāmidatta of Kotturā.[63] Dāmana of Eraṇḍapalle[64] and Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra.[64a] These places have been identified with places located in the Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, & Srikakulam districts of Andhra

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*The Muruṇḍas probably ruled over Kaliṅga as the feudatories of the imperial Kuśāṇas, the Muruṇḍas were foreigners hailing from the North-West of India; N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 422-30.

Pradesh and Ganjam, Kalahandi & Koraput districts of Orissa, which as we have seen already, with the exception of the Koraput and Kalahandi districts constituted the ancient Kaliṅga. The only inference to be drawn from this inscription is that after the Muruṇḍa rule Kaliṅga had no central authority and it was divided into small kingdoms during the first half of the fourth century A.D.

We are not sure as to the aftermath of the Samudragupta's southern expedition. Some scholars hold the view that Kaliṅga remained under the Gupta rule for some time.[65] They advocate this theory on the basis of the use of Gupta era in the Sumandala Plates[66] of Mahārāja Dharmarāja. From this inscription we know about the above king ruling over the Khallikote region of Ganjam district in the Gupta year 250 under the overlordship of Pṛthivivigraha, the ruler of Kaliṅga *rāṣṭra*. Dr. Sahu,[67] while rejecting this theory argues that the mere use of the Gupta era does not mean the Gupta rule over Kaliṅga and that the reading of *Varttamāna-Guptarājya* in the aforesaid copper plate should have been read as *Prayarttamāna-Guptarājya*, as recorded in the Kanasa Copper Plate[68] of Lokavigraha of the same Vigraha family. Besides, the Gupta empire ceased to exist in India by the middle of the sixth century A.D.[69] Whereas the date of the Sumandala Plate is A.D. 569-70. As such we can say that Kaliṅga remained outside the Gupta influence after Samudragupta's southern expedition. This will be more clear as we discuss other facts below.

In about A.D. 350 a dynasty, known to us from their charters[70] as the Māṭhara dynasty, started their rule in Kaliṅga. The inscriptions of the Māṭharas describe them as the lord of Kaliṅga. The Māṭharas started their rule from a small place, referred to in the Korosonda Grant[71] as Śrīpura, identified with Vatia-Sripura in Parlakhemundi taluq of Ganjam district by S.N. Rajaguru, the editor of the Plates. But they gradually extended their hold over the entire Kaliṅga region and made Siṁhapura, the modern Singupuram between Chicacola and Narasannapeta,[72] in the Srikakulam district their capital. In the Nigondi Grant[73] the donor, Prabhañjanavarman of this dynasty, is described to have ruled the land lying between the rivers Krişṇavenā (Krişṇa) and the Mahānadī. But it seems that the Māṭharas remained masters of the territory comprising the modern Vishakhapatnam, Srikakulam and Ganjam districts of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa respectively. Thus only the Ganjam district of present Orissa was included in the Kaliṅga country during the time of the Māṭharas, whose rule in Kaliṅga came to an end about the close of the fifth century A.D.[74]

At about the same time a new dynasty established its stronghold around the Mahendra mountain area[75] and founded its capital at Kaliṅganagara. The dynasty is known to us as Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, or Eastern Gaṅgas.[76] The records of the kings of this dynasty are recorded in their own era i.e., the Gaṅga era, the initial year of which is placed in A.D. 498.[77] In the beginning Kaliṅga, under this dynasty, denoted the same area as under the Māṭharas in the beginning. But it seems that other ruling families also shared the Kaliṅga territory alongwith the Eastern Gaṅgas during the sixth-seventh century A.D.

In A.D. 569-70 another dynasty, known as Vigrahas, was found to be ruling over a part of Kaliṅga. The Sumandala Copper Plate[78] of Dharmarāja and the Kanasa Copper Plate[79] of Lokavigraha would lead us to believe that the Vigrahas were ruling over the north Kaliṅga, comprising a part of the present Ganjam district while the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅgaṅagara were ruling over south Kaliṅga.

Some time during this period a branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas founded a small kingdom around the present Chikiti area of the Ganjam district. They are known to us as the 'Śvetaka Gaṅgas'[80] and their territory as Śvetaka *Maṇḍala*. This branch of the Śvetaka Gaṅgas continued to rule over the Śvetaka region as late as the eighth century A.D.[81]

From the inscriptions[82] of the Śailodbhava kings we also know that this dynasty started their rule in the Koṅgoda* region in about the last decades of the sixth century A.D. The Śailodbhavas were ruling, first, as feudatory rulers[83] under Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa. But they assumed independence, probably, after the death of Śaśāṅka and issued their charters as independent sovereigns. It appears that after the Śailodbhavas, their territory passed into the hands of the Śvetaka Gangas who recognised the Bhauma Kara kings of Utkala as their overlords. Because the Badakhimedi Plates[84] of Jayavarman of the Śvetaka Gaṅga branch record the grant of a village in Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* during the time of Śivakaradeva-I Unmaṭṭasiṁha of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Hiuen Tsang,[85] the Chinese pilgrim visited Kaliṅga in about A.D 638 after visiting Kongoda. According to his accounts Kaliṅga lay at a distance of 1400 or 1500 *li* to the south-west of Koṅgoda. The capital of Kaliṅga during his visit was located at Kaliṅganagara, known to us from several copper plates of the early eastern Gaṅga kings.[86] This Kaliṅganagara has been identified with modern Mukhaliṅgam[87] in the Srikakulam district of Āndhra Pradesh. Thus by the turn of the seventh century A.D. Kaliṅga was limited to parts of Ganjam and Srikakulam districts. The absence of any reference to Kaliṅga territory in the Bhauma-Kara records and the emergence of Śvetaka *maṇḍala* and Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* as distinct geographical units in the seventh century A.D. would definitely point to the fact that Kaliṅga territory was pushed further south and probably a small portion of present Ganjam district in the south was included in the Kaliṅga territorry alongwith the present Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh by the time the Somavaṁśīs came to power in Kosala.

Utkala:- The next important geographical unit of ancient Orissa was Utkala. As seen earlier, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Buddhist literature mention about the Utkala country. But they do not give us any indication as to the territorial extension of Utkala during the early christian eras. The absence of the name of Utkala in the accounts of the classical writers led some scholars[88] to believe that Utkala as a geographical unit emerged at a later date.

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*Koṅgoda denoted the territory from Chilika lake in the north to the Mahendragiri in the south and the hills forming the eastern boundary of the Kalahandi district in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east from the 6th century A.D. to the end of the 10th century A.D., R.C. Majumdar, *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol., X, p. 7.

For the first time we come across a reference to the geographical location of Utkala in Kālīdāśa's *Raghuvaṁśa*.[89] Here king Raghu is described to have entered the Utkala country after crossing the river Kapisa and from Utkala he went to Kaliṅga. This Kapisa has been identified with present Kasai river in the Midnapore district of West Bengal.[90] According to this description Utkala would seem to have comprise of the territory between the Kapisa river in the north to the northern limits of Kaliṅga during the fourth century A.D., the date generally ascribed to Kālidāśa.[91] The records of the Māṭharas,[92] who were ruling in Kaliṅga during the second half of the fourth century A.D. tell as that the river Mahānadī formed the northern boundary of Kaliṅga. Thus Utkala was limited to Kasai river in the north and Mahānadī in the south during the fourth century A.D.

Utkala is referred to in the Midnapore Plates[93] of Somadatta, a feudatory of Śaśāṅka. In this epigraph we see that Daṇḍabhukti* was included in the Utkala territory. The assumption that would follow from this evidence is that Utkala, during the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. included parts of the south-west Bengal and Balasore district of Orissa. This is borne out by the Soro Plates[94] of the same king.

After this date we do not get any reference to the Utkala country for some time. The Bhauma-Karas[95] became master of the coastal Orissa in the first half of the eighth century A.D. The records of this dynasty refer them as belonging to the Utkala race.[96] The Chaurasi Plates of Śivakaradeva II (A.D. 809) describe Śubhākaradeva I as lord of Utkala. Thus Utkala denoted the coastal districts of Orissa *viz*. Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts, during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas (*circa* A.D. 736-940) in Orissa.

The *Brahma Purāṇa*,[97] which is ascribed to a period between the tenth and thirteenth century A.D., refers to the vast coastal regions of present Orissa as Utkala and locates the sacred places of Virajā *kṣetra* and Puruṣtottama *Kṣetra* in the Utkala country. It also mentions Kaliṅga and Utkala as two separate kingdoms.

Hence, it would be safe to presume that Utkala, at first, was employed to denote parts of Balasore and Midnapore districts. Later, Puri and Cuttack districts were also included in the Utkala country during the eighth century A.D. But it is interesting to know that the same territory was also variously known as *Uttara* Tosala and Oḍra during the same period.

Tosala:— Tosala* is found mentioned in ancient[98] Indian literature such as the *Pariśiṣṭhā* of *Atharva Veda*, Purāṇas and *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. First epigraphic reference to Tosala occurs in the Rock Edict of Aśoka found at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar.[99] This Tosala of Aśokan inscription seems to have been divided into *Uttara* Tosala (north Tosala) and *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala (south Tosala) in later times. We come across the word *Uttara* Tosala for the first time in the copper plate of the Mudgala king Śambhuyaśa in Gupta year A.D. 260 or 580.[100] *Dakśina*

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*Daṇḍabhukti comprised parts of the south-west Bengal and Balasore district while its name seems to be preserved in Dantan in Midnapore district. D.K.Ganguli, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

*Tosala of ancient days has been identified with the area around modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar. K.N. Mahapatra, *Tosaiir Itihāsa* (Oriya) pp. 11 ff.

Tosala occurs for the first time in the Kanasa Copper plate of Lokavigraha, dated in the Gupta year 280 corresponding to A.D. 600.[101] From the above evidences it would follow that by the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. the two units of Tosala *viz. Uttara* and *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala were distinct from each other.

From the Patiakela grant[102] of Śivarāja, a feudatory under Śambhuyaśa, we know that Śambhuyaśa, who was overlord of *Uttara* Tosala, had occupied *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala also. From the Soro[103] Plates of Somadatta, Patiakela Grant of Śivarāja, Kanasa Copper plates of Lokavigraha, and the Midnapore Plates[104] of Somadatta we get an idea about the territorial extension of both the Tosalas. During the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. *Uttara* Tosala constituted the modern Midnapore district of West Bengal, Mayurbhanj, Balasore and northern parts of the Cuttack district in Orissa.[105] While *Dakṣina* Tosala constituted roughly the modern Puri district and parts of Ganjam and Cuttack districts. The southern boundary of *Dakṣiṇa* Tosala was the river Ṛṣikulyā and the river Mahānadī divided the two Tosalas.[106]

The unified Tosala country under the Mudgala king Śambhuyaśa passed under the control of Śaśāṅka some time before A.D. 620, the date of the Ganjam Plates,[107] of Mādhavarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty. After the death of Śaśāṅka about A.D. 625 king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj extended his sovereignty over the coastal regions of Orissa.[108] This region under Harṣa's administration was known as Oḍra *viṣaya*. The Soro Plates of Somadatta reveal that *Uttara* Tosala constituted a part of Oḍra *viṣaya*. Hiuen-Tsang, in his accounts, records this territory as Wu (U)-t'O[109] ((Oḍra). Thus Tosala and Oḍra denoted the same territory during the first part of the seventh century A.D.

Dr. K.C. Panigrahi[110] suggests that the Cālukyas might have occupied Orissa for a time in course of their conflict with Harṣavardhana after the death of Śaśāṅka. His suggestion is based on a tradition recorded in the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, a local text, and some archaeological evidences found at Bhubaneswar.

When the Bhauma-Karas ruled over ancient Orissa their kingdom extended from Daṇḍabhukti in the north to Koṅgoda in the south or from the present Midnapore district of West Bangal in the north to the Ganjam district in the south along-with the present Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Phulbani districts.[111] From their inscriptions we know that their empire—Tosala—was divided into north and south Tosalas. The river Mahānadī seems to have been the boundary between the two Tosalas, under the Bhauma-Karas. The Bhauma-Kara kingdom was also known as Utkala.[112] Thus the same area was variously known as Utkala, Oḍra and *Uttara* Tosala during the early eighth century A.D. This was the territory which the Somavaṁśīs occupied after ousting the Bhauma-Karas.

Oḍra :—The earliest epigraphic reference to Oḍra is found in the Soro Plates of Somadatta.[113] As seen earlier, the Midnapore Plates of the same king reveal that the present Balasore district in Orissa and the Midnapore district in West Bengal were known variously as Utkala and Oḍra *Visaya* during the early part of the seventh century A.D. This region, as described above, was under the control of

Śaśāṅka for some time and after his death passed under the sovereignty of Harṣavardhana.

According to the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's account,[114] who visited Oḍra about the same time, the country of Oḍra lay to the south-west of Karṇasuvarṇa and north of Koṅgoda. The country was 7000 *li* in circuit; the capital city was about 20 *li* around. According to Cunningham[115] Oḍra of Hiuen Tsang's account was limited to the valley of Mahānadī and the lower course of the river Suvarṇarekhā, being bounded in the west by Gondwana, in the north by the wild hill tracts of Jashpur and Singhbhum, in the east by the sea and in the south by Ganjam. But the western limit of Oḍra in his description is difficult to accept since the western districts of present Orissa, *viz*. Bolangir and Sambalpur, lying in the valley of Mahānadī, formed a part of Kosala during the period under discussion.[116]

D.K. Ganguli,[117] while suggesting that Oḍra and Utkala were identical, follows N.K. Sahu[118] in trying to locate the Oḍra territory in between the south Kosala and lower Orissa or coastal districts of Orissa, which according to him was known either as Utkala or Tosala during the rules of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. Following N.K. Sahu he describes Oḍra as constituting the territory from Mahānadī in the north to the Parlakhemundi taluq, in the south, and from *Dakśiṇa* Kosala in the west to Tosala in the east. B.C. Mazumdar [119] has, also, suggested that Oḍra constituted the high lands of Orissa extending from the southern limit of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj to the left bank of the river Mahānadī.

Some other scholars[120] suggest that Oḍra and Utkala are identical and Oḍra denoted the coastal districts of Orissa during the post seventh century period. While rejecting the former view and agreeing with the latter we advance the following in support of our contention.

Firstly, the Bhauma-Kara kings, for reasons unknown to us, have omitted the word Oḍra, as a physical expression relating to their kingdom, and instead used the word either Utkala on Tosala in their charters. Probably the name Oḍra was not popular with them.

Secondly, Oḍra has been mentioned in some of the grants of their feudatories. The Adipur Copper Plate Grant[121] of Narendrabhañja, belonging to the Bhañja dynasty of Khijjiṅgakoṭṭa* considered to be feudatories[122] under the Bhauma-Kara kings, two Talcher Grants[123] of Gayāḍatuṅgal of the Tuṅga family* and the Baud Plates[124] of *R*aṇabhañja of Khiñjali *maṇḍala*, issued in the 58th regnal year, refer to the respective donees of the grants as hailing from Oḍra territory. The evidences gleaned from the above records would show that Oḍra, as a territory, definitely existed during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas.

Thirdly, the *Brahma-Purāna* (Ch. 28, 29 and 42) ascribed to tenth-thirteenth A.D., reveals that Oḍra extended northwards to Braja *maṇḍala* or Jajpur and consisted of three sacred *ksetras* called Puruṣottama (Or Śrī) *kṣtra*. Savitu (or Arka)

* See p. 11.

*. See p. 11.

kṣetra, and Viraja *kṣetra* through which flows the river Vaitaraṇī.[125] Thus the *Brahma-Purāna* locates Oḍra in the coastal districts of Orissa.

Next, we have the Maihar Stone Inscription[126] which reveals that lord Puruṣottama, by the side of the sea, was located in the Oḍra country. The inscription has been dated in the tenth century A.D. This epigraphic evidence from outside Orissa corroborates our contention that Oḍra constituted the coastal districts of Orissa.

Lastly, almost all scholars try to trace the territorial extension of Oḍra of eigth-ninth century A.D. from references found in the records of Gaṅgas,[127] the Tailapa dynasty[128] and other dynasties belonging to tenth century A.D. and later. It is almost certain that all the ancient geographical units of ancient Orissa varied in their territorial extension during different periods as pointed out above. So, naturally the indentification of Oḍra during the pre-Somavaṁśī period becomes a problem.

But, in the light of above arguments we can safely say that Oḍra denoted the coastal districts of Orissa during the Bhauma-Kara rule. We come across several small kingdoms, ruled by different ruling families as feudatories, during the rule of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. N.K. Sahu[129] refers to them as *maṇḍala* states.

Khijjiṅga was one such *maṇḍala* state. It was located in northern Orissa comprising the modern Mayurbhanj and part of Keonjhar district.[130] A branch of the Bhañja dynasty of Orissa ruled over this territory from their capital at Khijjiṅgā *koṭṭa*, identified with modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj district, during the ninth-tenth century A.D.

Khiñjali *maṇḍala*[131] on the other hand constituted the Baud-Sonepur region of modern Orissa as known from the copper plate Inscriptions[132] of the branch of Bhañja kings that ruled over this area. Their capital was called Dhṛtipura of unknown identity. This branch of Bhañja kings were ruling during the ninth-tenth century A.D. and, as we shall see later, were hostile to the growth of the Somavaṁśa power during the last quarter of the ninth century A D.

The small kingdom, known as Kodalaka *maṇḍala*, roughly comprised the modern Dhenkanal district of Orissa under the Śulkī kings.[133] The Śulkīs had their capital at Kodālaka identified with modern Koalu in Dhenkanal. These kings were in power during the ninth century A.D. and they ruled as a feudatory power of the Bhauma-Karas.

By the second half of the ninth century A.D. we see the decline of the Śulkīs and the division of Kodālaka *maṇḍala* into two new kingdoms. They are Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* and Yamagartta *maṇḍala*. While Yamagartta *maṇḍala* came under the control of the Tungas,[134] the Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* passed into the hands of the Nanda kings.[135] Yamagartta *maṇḍala* has been identified with the northern Dhenkanal and a part of the Keonjhar district. Its capital seems to have been the village of either the Jamra on Jamirdihi in the valley of the Brahmani river in Dhenkanal district.[136] The Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* included the southern part of Dhenkanal, the western part of Cuttack, and almost the whole of the Nayagarh sub-division of Puri district.[137] The capital of the Nanda kings on Airāvaṭṭa was at Jayapura, identified with a village of same name in the south Dhenkanal.

All the above ruling families with the exception of the two branches of the Bhañja kings had already passed from the scene when the Somavaṁśīs entered the political stage of Utkala about the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

During the last days ofthe Bhauma-Kara rule in Orissa about the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. we have definite evidence of their gradual decline. From a copper plate grant of Vakulamahādevī,[138] the queen of Śubhākaradeva V, we know that after him no male ruler sat on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Instead four female members of the dynasty ruled in succession. The second queen in order of succession, among the four, was Daṇḍimahādevī, known to us from a number of copper plate grants.[139] She was the last great ruler of the dynasty who kept the kingdom intact during her rule. But the last two rulers—Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī - ruled with the support of the Bhañja kings. Their rule, as revealed by their copper plate grants.[140] was limited to the Dhenkanal - Angul region only. After Dandimahādevi's rule the Somavaṁśīs extended their sway into Utkala region or coastal districts of Orissa at the expenses of the weak Bhauma-Kara authority.

Trikaliṅga: The territory of Trikaliṅga was significant during the rule of Somavaṁśa. Since all the kings of the Somavaṁśa had the title of *Trikaliṅgadhipati*, as recorded in their charters, it is necessary that we ascertain its location and extent during the pre-Somavaṁśa period.

A number of scholars have discussed about the extent of Trikaliṅga and they differ in their opinions. Trikaliṅga does not occur in the inscriptions of the early period. We get reference to Trikaliṅga from the charters of the Eastern Gaṅgas,[141] Eastern Chālukya rulers,[142] Kalacuris[143] and Somavaṁśī kings.[144] From the above records Cunningham,[145] Keilhorn,[146] Fleet,[147] Subba Rao,[148] R.D. Banerji[149] and D.C. Ganguly [150] take Trikaliṅga to be three divisions of ancient Kaliṅga. G. Ramdas considers Trikaliṅga to be *Tiru*-Kaliṅga meaning high or elevated Kaliṅga which according to him constituted the regions of the Eastern Ghats from the Upper course of the Mahānadī to about the sources of the Lāṅguliyā river in the south.[151]

According to B.C. Mazumdar [152] Trikaliṅga denoted the three territories of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Utkala. His view is shared by B. Misra[153] and R.G. Basak.[154] Another set of scholars take the epithet of *Trikaliṅgādhīpatī*, assumed by the kings of the Somavaṁśa, as merely an honorfic title.[155] R.C. Majumdar[156] on the other hand holds the view that Trikaliṅga was different from Kaliṅga and was a less important territory denoting most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kaliṅga. N.K. Sahu from the description recorded in an unpublished manuscript of *Brahmāṇda Purāṇa*, preserved in the Orissa State Museum, at Bhubaneswar, locates Trikaliṅga in between the rivers Jhañjāvatī and Vedavatī. The Jhañjāvati flows through the eastern portion of modern Koraput district as a tributary of the Nāgāvalī river, whereas the Vedavatī has been identified with the river Indravatī which flows through the western part of the same district.[157]

B.C. Mazumdar suggests elsewhere that Trikalinga roughly included the ex-

States of Kankar, Bastar, Kalahandi, the hilly portions of Ganjam and Koraput and some portions of Madhya Pradesh, roughly comprising Jharkhand or Gondwana of the Mughal period.[158] Following the veiw of R.C. Mazumdar, D.K. Ganguli[159] suggests that Trikaliṅga adjoined the Vengi *maṇḍala* as referred to in the Masulipatam plates[160] of Ammā I (A.D. 918-925). Following the same Cālukyan source H.K. Mahatab[161] states that Trikalinga denoted the entire region between the rivers Ṛṣikulyā, and Lāṅguliyā with the Zamindari of Jeypore in Koraput, the districts of Bastar, Bolangirpatna, Kalahandi and Sonepur and also the district of Sambalpur. S.R. Nema[162] accepts the above view. Since the Sambalpur region was included in the Kosala, as we shall see below, it could not have been included in Trikaliṅga.

Considering all the above views we can safely assume that Trikaliṅga was a separate territory than Kaliṅga. Regarding the extent of Trikaliṅga, the latter view of B.C. Mazumdar seems more probable as it is in agreement with R.C. Majumdar's suggestions - that Trikalinga was adjacent to Veṅgi *maṇḍala* - based on the contemporary Cālukyan records. P. Acharya[163] has rightly pointed out that Trikaliṅga was not an independent territory with its own king. It was a tract of land which changed hands from time to time.

Kosala: - We do not come across of the names Mahā-kosala and *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala or south Kosala in any early Brahmi inscriptions. But Kosala, meaning, *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purānic literature where in it is located in the Vindhya region alongwith the Mekala region.[164] The *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* locates Kosala country to the north of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*.[165] It further reveals that Kosala was adjacent to the Vidarbha country.

According to S.R. Nema[166] the recorded history of Kosala country begins with the rule of Mauryas over Kosala. Since this assumption is not supported by other evidences we do not agree with him. He further advances the theory of Sātavāhana supremacy over Kosala from about the first century A.D. to the middle of third century A.D. In support of his view he cites literary, numismatic and epigraphic evidences.[167]

The Vakatakas,[168] under their powerful monarch Pravarasena I, consolidated and enlarged their power in the second half of the third century A.D. It is likely that Kosala was included in the Vakaṭaka empire before the southern expedition of Samudragupta, about the middle of the forth century A.D., in course of which he defeated Mahendra of Kosala.[169] Thus the earliest epigraphic reference to Kosala occurs for the first time in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. H.C. Ray Chaudhuri[170] indentifies this Kosala with the territory comprising of the modern Bilaspur, Ratanpur and Sambalpur districts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa respectively. We do not know for certain whether Kosala was under the Vākātaka control from the third century A.D. onwards with a brief discontinuation during the time of Samudragupta. But from the Belaghat inscription[171] of the Vākātaka-Gupta king Narendrasena we know that Kosala was under their control during the post Samudragupta period.

About the same period the Nalas[172] of Bastar-Koraput region became prominent. Puṣkarī, the Capital city of the Nalas, has been identified with modern Podāgarh near Umarkot in the Koraput district.[173] As seen earlier, the Mahakantara of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription comprised the present Koraput region. This territory came under the control of the Nalas later. Since this territory was also adjacent to Kosala, it seems that the Nalas wanted to extend their sway over the neighbouring Kosala territory, which was then under the Vākātaka-Gupta control. Naturally, the two powers very often clashed with each other.

But a third power, known to us from their records as Śarabhapurīyas,[174] ultimately became the masters of south Kosala. This dynasty rose to power about the close of the fifth century A.D. The charters of this dynasty were issued from Śarabhapura at the beginning but later from Śrīpura. Scholars[175] are not unanimous about the identification of Śarabhapura. Some place it in the Sambalpur district while some locate it near Śrīpura, modern Sirpur in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. The Śarabhapurīyas ruled over Kosala until they were ousted by the rising Pānduvaṁśīs by the middle of the sixth century A.D.[176]

The Pānduvaṁśīs ruled over Kosala until about the middle of the seventh century A.D. Kosala under them denoted present Raipur, Bilaspur and Kalahandi districts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa respectively[177] as their copper plate grants were discovered from and record land grants in these area. Hiuen Tsang most probably visited Kosala during the reign of the last great ruler of this dynasty. Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna[178] in the first half of the seventh century A.D. From his accounts Cunningham [179] describes Kosala as comprising the whole of the Upper valley of the Mahānadī and its tributaries from the source of the Narbadā at Amarkantak, in the north, to the source of the Mahānadī itself near Kanker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gangā, on the west, to the Hasdo and Jonk rivers in the east. These Limits, as Cunningham adds, have often been extended so far as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandala and Balaghat, on the west upto the banks of the Wean-Gaṅgā and the middle valley of the Mahānadī on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonepur.

By the close of the eighth century A.D. and beginning of the ninth century A.D. the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis were pushed into the back ground by the Nalas. The Rajivalochana temple inscription of Vilāsatuṅga[180] at Rajim in the Raipur district leads us to believe that the Nalas again rose to prominance about 7th-8th century A.D and invaded and occupied the south-western Kosala[181] (i.e. modern Raipur District in Madhya Pradesh). Scholars[182] have suggested a period of Bāṇa rule in Kosala during the ninth century A.D. But we are not sure whether the Bāṅa rule was extended over the present western Orissa or not.

Thus by the second half of the seventh century A.D. after the Pāṅḍuvaṁśīs were subdued by the later Nala kings of Baster-Koraput region we see that Kosala had no paramount power. Instead it became the hunting ground of the neighbouring powers. Most likely petty chiefs, of whom we have no evidences so far, ruled this divided Kosala territory under the suzereinity of outside powers. The ground was, thus, laid for the rise of the Somavaṁśīs who waited for nearly two centuries for their chance to reassert themselves again over this area. This chance they got about the last part of the ninth century A.D.

Notes and References

1. H.K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p 450.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 449.
3. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. V, p. 357.
4. H.K. Mahatab, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I,p.8; D.K. Ganguli, *H.G.D.H.O.*, p. 59; N.K. Sahu, *U.U.H.O.* Vol. I, pp. 148-54, ff.
5. Pargitar, *Op. cit*, pp. 253-54.
6. *Harivaṁśa*, x, 18-19; *Matsya Purāṇa*, xi; *Vāyu*, xxcv.
7. Pargiter, *Op. cit*., p. 9.
8. *Harivaṁśa*, xxxi, 1684-1690; *Vāyu*, ic, 26-34 & 47-97; *Matsya*, xlviii,, 23, 29 and 43-89.
9. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit*.. Vol. I, p. 71.
10. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix, xxiii, 5 (Gaudiya Matha edition).
11. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 71.
12. Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, p. 278.
13. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, cxx-7; cxxi-5.
14. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 72; D.K. Ganguli, *Op.cit.*, p. 5, H.K. Mahatab, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 1.
15. H.K. Mahatab, *Op. cit.*, p. 1; D.K. Ganguli, *Op.cit.*, p, 70, fn. 2.
16. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol., xxxii, pp. 3-4.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
19. R.L. Mitra., *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 4.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
21. *Sabhā Parya*, xiii, 591-92; xxx, 1117.
22. Pargiter, *Op.cit.*, p. 278, Note-1.
23. *Vana Parva*, cxiv; 4; *Udyoga*, xlvii, 70, *Karṇa*, xl. 29.
24. *Vana Parva*, ii, 1977; *Bhīsma*, ix, 365; *Droṇa*, iv, 122.
25. *Droṇa*, iv, 169.
26. *Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa*, *sarga*, 41.
27. *Vāyu*, xlv. 132-33, *Matsya*, cxiii, 52-53.
28. Oldenburg, *Vinaya Pitaka*, 1, pp. 3f.
29. *Jat*, I, p. 80.
30. See *Kaliṅgabodhi*, *Chullakaliṅga*, *Kurudharmma* Jatakas.
31. Pliny, *Natural History* (Trans. by Dr. Bostock & Riliy) Vol. II, p. 46.
32. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XXXII, P.; N. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Medieval India*, p. 213.
33. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit*., p. 75.
34. See p. 3.
35. N.K. Sahu, Op. cit., pp. 75-76; D.K. Ganguli, *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
36. Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 137.
37. Pliny, *Op. cit.*, pp. 42-44.
38. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 76.
39. This inscription is found incised on the projected rock ceiling of the Hāthī Gumpha or elephant cave of the Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. B.M. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 1 ff; Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 15 ff; Prinsap, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI (1837), pp. 1075 ff.

40. Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and the decli. e of the Mauryas*, p. 35, fn.
41. V.A. Smith, *The Early History of india*, p. 164, K.C. Panigrahi, *A.R.B.*, p. 9.
42. Romila Thapar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 230-31.
43. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, PP. 192.203; N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 335-55 & 408; H.K. Mahatab, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 54.
44. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, pp.347-52.
45. H.K. Mahatab, *Op. cit.*, p. 67.
46. D.K. Ganguli, *Op. cit.*, p. 149.
47. *E.I.*, Vol., VIII, pp. 60 ff; Luder's List, *E.I.*, Vol, X, No. 1123.
48. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, p. 207.
49. *P.I.H.C.*, Cuttack, 1949, p. 207.
50. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p, 418.
51. *E.I.* Vol. VII, p. 71; N.K. Sahu, *Ibid.*, p. 418.

51(a) These coins h ve been discovered from Ganjam, Puri, Balasore, Mayurbhanj and keonjhar districts of Orissa and from Singhbhum district of Bihar. H.K. Mahatab, *Op. cit.*. Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

52. Mahatab, *Ibid.*, p. 68; D.K. Ganguli, *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-55.
53. Sahu, *Ibid.*, K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 211-13.
54. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 64-5; *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 22 ff; P.L. Gupta, *J.N.S.I.*. Vol. XV, p. 187; *Ancient India*, Vol XXI-II, pp. 205-09; T.N. Ramachandran, *J.N.S.I.*. Vol. XIII, p. 69.
55. B.C. Law, Ed. & Trans. *Dathāvaṁśa*, Ch. II-IV.
56. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 240 ff; *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 169 ff.
57. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 240 ff.
58. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.
59. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.
60. Kosala was no doubt south Kosala wich was outside the Kaliṅga territory. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 432; Ganguli, *Op.cit.*, p. 156.
61. Mahākāntāra has been identified with the hilly & forest tracts of present Kalahandi and Koraput districts. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, P. 433; Ganguli, *Op. cit.*, p. 856; Mahatab, *Op. cit.*, p. 71; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 185.
62. Pistapura has been identified with modern Pithanpram in Goḍāvari district of Andhra Pradesh.
63. Kotturā has been identified with modern Kothoor in Ganjam district of Orissa.
64 Eraṇḍapalle is modern Erandapalli near present Srikakulam town.

64(a). It has been identified with modern Yellamanchili tract in the present Vishakapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh.

65. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85; *J.I H.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 290; D.K. Ganguli, *Op. cit.*, pp. 158-160.
66. *E.I.*, Vol., XXVIII, pp. 79-85.
67. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 438-444 ff.
68. *E.I.*, Vol,, XXVIII, pp. 328-331.
69 A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 68.
70. S.N. Rajaguru, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part-ii, pp. 1-80.
71. S.N. Rajaguru, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol., XIV, p. 282; G. Ramdas, *E.I.* Vol. *XXI*, pp. 23-25.
72. E. Hultsch, *E.I.*, Vol., IV, p, 143 ff.
73, D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 112-18 ff.
74. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 493;
75. S.N. Rajaguru, *History of the Gangas*, Vol. I,P. 14, fn.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
77. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 129 ff.
78. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85.
79. *Ibid.*, Vol. pp. 328-331.

80. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 133; S.N. Rajaguru, *I.O.*, Vol. II, pp. 243-329.
81. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XII, pp. 489-93 ff.
82. S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.* Vol. I, ii, pp. 157-164.
83. *E.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-46 ff.
84. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 489-93 ff; U.K. Subudhi, "*The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*", p. 106.
85. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 198.
86. S. N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, Section-1.
87. S. N. Rajaguru, *History of the Gangas*, Vol. I, p. 184; *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 187-88.
88. D. K. Ganguli, *Op.cit.*, p. 54.
89. *Raghuvaṁsa*, IV, 38.
90. D. K. Ganguli, *Op.cit.*, p. 54.
91. A. L. Basham, *Op.cit.*, p. 420.
92. S. N. Rajaguru, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, ii, pp. 1-80; N. K. Sahu, *Op.cit.*, p. 472.
93. *J.A.S.B.* Vol. XI, (1945), No. 1, pp. 7-8.
94. *E.I.*, vol. XXIII, p. 202.
95. S. N. Rajaguru, *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 108; *H.C.I.P.* Vol. IV, p. 66; *K. C.* Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 18; N. K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 347. (Ed.).
96. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306.
97. Chapter, XXVIII.
98. *Atharva Pariśistha* — Ch. 56; *Vāyu*-XIV, 132-133; *Matsva*, cxiii, 52-53; *Nātya Sāstra*, xiii, 40.
99. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol., I. pp. 34-38.
100. S. N. Rajaguru, *Op.cit.*, I, Part (ii), pp. 116-119; *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201 f.
101. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 331 f.
102. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 283.
103. *Ibid.*, Vol., XXIII, pp. 1978 ff.
104. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XI, pp. 7-8.
105. N. K. Sahu, *Op.cit.*, p. 104.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
107. *E.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143-146.
108. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 95.
109. T. Watters, *Op.cit.*, p. 193.
110. K. C. Panigrahi, *A.R.B.*, pp. 221-224 ff.
111. U. K. Subudhi, '*Bhauma Karas of Orissa*' pp. 85-86.
112. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma-kings*, p. 8.
113. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 199 ff.
114. Watters, *Op. cit.*, p. 193.
115. Gen. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 585.
116. See below pp. 12-13.
117. D. K. Ganguli, *Op.cit.*, pp. 54-55 and 57-58.
118. N. K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 141-47 ff.
119. B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 17.
120. P. Acharya, *O.H.R.J.* Vol. I, No. 1, p. 91.
121. *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 157-61.
122. U. K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, p. 85.
123. *J.A.S.B.* (New Series), Vol. V, pp. 347-50; *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 291-5.
124. *I.H.Q.* Vol. X. pp. 473-477.
125. N. Dey, *Op. cit.*, p. 142.
126. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, IV, pp. 173.
127. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, 314-15, (Dirghasi Stone Inscription of Rājarāja I).
128. *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. X, pp. 166 f (Uppalada Grant of Rānaka Rāmadeva).
129. N. K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 110-122.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-122.
132. Smt. S. Tripathy, *I.O.*, Vol. VI, pp. XXVI-XXVII.
133. Sahu, *Op.cit.*, p. 114.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
138. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 307-12.
139. U. K. Subudhi, *Op.cit.*, p. 19.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
141. The Jirjiṅgi plates of Indravarman, *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 286; Samantavarman's Copper plate grant, *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 143-46.
142. Masulipatam Plates of Amma I, *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 69.
143. H. C. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, pp. 180-195.
144. S. N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 95-264.
145. A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 594.
146. *I.A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 225.
147. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 327 and 337.
148. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 201 and 203.
149. R. D. Banerji, *Op. cit*, pp. 1-3.
150. *I.H.Q.* Vol. VIII. p. 29.
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152. B. C. Mazumdar. *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 172, 181 & 194.
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THE SOURCES

Source materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa are not many. But they are fairly enough to draw a relatively satisfactory picture of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. These available source materials could be classified into the following categories :

(a) Epigraphic records of the Somavaṁśīs and other contemporary dynasties in and outside Orissa.
(b) Archaeological remains of the period such as temples and sculptures.
(c) Literature, both contemporary and later.

A. Epigraphic Records :—In all thirty-nine epigraphic records, belonging to the periods of the different Somavaṁśī rulers, have been discovered so far. Thirty-one of them are copper plate grants issued by different rulers of the dynasty and their subordinate rulers. The rest are stone inscriptions. These epigraphic records form the principal source for our study. A list of these epigraphic records, most of which are in a good state of preservation, is given below.*

1. The Vakratentali grant of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—3.[1]
2. A fragmentary copper plate of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—3.†
3. Kalibhana Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—6.[2]
4. Patna Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—6.[3]
5. Patna Museum Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—6.[4]
6. Nagpur Museum Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—8.[5]
7. Gaintala Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—16.[6]
8. Sonepur Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.1—7.[7]
9. Chaudwar Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—31.[8]
10. Chaudwar Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—31.[9]
11. Chaudwar Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—31.[10]
12. Kalibhana Plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, R.Y.—34.[11]
13. The Degaon Plates of Janamejaya's time.[11a]

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*Most of the epigraphic records of the Somavaṁśīs have been compiled into a single volume by Mr. S.N. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, Bhubaneswar, 1966. Nos. 16 to 43 and 46.

†In the possession of Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, of Cuttack.

14. Orissa State Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—4.[12]
15. Patna Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—8.[13]
16. Cuttack Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—9.[14]
17. Nibina Charter of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—15.[15]
18. Patna Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—24.[16]
19. Patna Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—28[17] (pl. IA).
20. Kandarpur Stone Inscriptions of Vicitrabhūṣaṇadeva or Vicitreśvaradeva.[18]
21. Cuttack Plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha, R.Y.—3.[19]
22. Mahākosala Historical Society Plates of Mahābhavagupta, R.Y.—11.[20]
23. Kudepalli Copper Plate Grant of the time of Mahābhavagupta, R.Y.—13.[21]
24. Khandapara Plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, R.Y.—11.[22]
25. Banpur Plates of Indraratha, R.Y.—6.[23]
26. Jatesinga & Dungri Plates or Maranjamura Charter of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, R.Y.—3.[24]
27. Narasimhapur Charter of Balijhari Plates of Mahābhavagupta Udyotakeśarī, R.Y.—4.[25]
28. Samkhameri Charter of Mahābhavagupta Udyotakeśarī, R.Y.—4.[26]
29. A Stone inscription in the Khandagiri (Lalātendu Keśarī cave) of Udyotakeśarī's time, R.Y.—5.[27]
30. A stone inscription in the Khandagiri (Navamuni cave) of Udyotakeśarī's time, R.Y.—18th.[28]
31. Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī, R.Y.—18.[29]
32. Govindapur fragmentary stone inscription of Udyotakeśarī's time.[30]
33. A single copper plate from Mahada of Udyotakeśarī's time.[31]
34. Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva, R.Y—.1.[32]
35. A single copper plate from Kelga.[33]
36. The unpublished Nuapatna Grant of Yuvarāja Dharmaratha of Janamejaya's time, R.Y.—5.[34]
37. The Ratnagiri Copper Plates of Somavaṁśī Karnnadeva, R.Y.—6.[35]
38. Kamalpur Copper Plate Grant of the reign of Karṇṇadeva[36] R.Y.—7.
39. Surya image inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Karṇṇarāja's time, (1) 3. R.Y.[37]

Most of the above copper plate grants, excluding a few[38], are Somavaṁśī official charters. These copper plates could be regarded as authentic documents as they were composed and scribed by the court officials at royal command. The records of the feudatory or subordinate rulers under the Somavaṁśī kings also contain important historical facts. Interesting and useful information such as the territorial extent of the Somavaṁśī kingdom, their geneaology, administration and achievements can be gleaned from these records. The stone inscriptions[39] are of votive and commemorative type and they are all private records. These stone inscriptions commemorate the consecration of religious structures, inciden-

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tally revealing the condition of the society and religion during the rule of this important dynasty in Orissa.

Most of the copper plate grants contain the royal seal. Generally the seal is found on the ring attached to the plates, normally three in number and thus known as *triphalī* grants.[40] The presence of this royal seal proves their authenticity as royal charters. The royal seals bear an emblem, in relief, of the figure of goddess Lakṣmī, sometimes referred to as Gaja-Lakṣmī, seated on a throne or a lotus with two elephants on either side, having their trunks raised on her head (pl. IB). The seal on the Mahākosala Historical Society Copper Plates[41] is an exception to this. In this case the seal contains the figure of a standing bull facing the proper right and a crescent at the top. Two lines of writing are below the figure of the bull. The writings read[12] :

1. *Śri Mahābhavagupta*
2. *rāja devasya*

The Kudepalli Charter and the unpublished Degaon Plates were issued by subordinate rulers of the Somavaṁśa and as such contain altogether different seals. The Kudepalli Charter has in high relief a sitting *haṁsa* (Swan), facing proper left and surmounted by a crescent, and below the swan, the legend; *Rāṇaka—Śrī (Pu) ṁ (ja)*.[43] The Degaon Plates contain the figure of a squatted Garuḍa below which a snake is depicted.

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The language used in these epigraphic records is Sanskrit[44] and both verses and prose have been used in the texts. The script is one of the eastern varieties of the North Indian alphabet[45] generally termed as *Nāgarī*.[46] Some of the modern Oriya letters can be traced in the script used by the Somavaṁśīs in their inscriptions.[47] Besides, the use of a few Oriya words can also be noticed in the texts of some of the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśa rule in Orissa.[48] Orthographically the inscriptions are not free from mistakes and moreover some scribal mistakes have crept into them.[49]

Unfortunately, we do not find any specific era used in the Somavaṁśī records. Only the regnal years of the rulers are found in them. They did not even record their own era in their charters as the Bhauma-Karas[50] and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara[51] did in theirs. It is noteworthy that, while their contemporary dynasties have used some era, the Somavaṁśīs have used none. This creats a problem in fixing the chronology of the Somavaṁśa.

Corroborative evidences could be gleaned from the inscriptions of different dynasties, contemporary of the Somavaṁśīs. The Baud Plates[52] of Pṛithvīmahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī II of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty reveals that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga, the lord of Kosala, who belonged to the Somavaṁśa. This information helps us in corroborating the evidence we get from the Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription and determining the correct genealogy as well as fixing the chronology of the Somavaṁśa.

The Korni Plates[53] of Anantavarman Coḍagoṅgadeva of the Imperial

Gaṅga dynasty state that he had reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala. The Liṅgaraja temple inscription[54] dated in the Śaka year 1036 corresponding to A.D. 1114 clearly shows that by that time Chodagaṅgadeva had occupied Orissa. The able general Vanapati under Rājarāja I Devendravarman (A.D. 1070-1078), father of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, is said to have defeated the army of Utkala and the kings of Veṅgi, Kimiḍi, Kosala and Giḍrisiṅgi countries.[55] This war of Vanapati against the army of Utkala must have taken place during the rule of some later Somavaṁśīs. This helps us in reconstructing the political relationship of the two neighbouring countries, *viz*. Kaliṅga and Utkala, during the later part of the eleventh century A.D.

We get interesting information regarding the political history of the Somavaṁśīs from the Tirumalai Stone Inscription and other inscriptions of Rājendra Cola I (A.D. 1012-1044).[56] The Tirumalai Inscription reveals that in the course of his invasion extending upto the Ganges, in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., a general of Rājendra Cola captured Indraratha of the ancient race of moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place at Ādinagar. This piece of evidence from the Cola records, as we shall see later, would help us both in identifying the location of the Somavaṁśī capital and determining the Somavaṁśī chronology with some definiteness.

The name, Indraratha, occurs in the Udepur *Praśasti*[57] wherein it is stated that the army of Bhoja of Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (*circa* A.D. 1000-1055) defeated the lord of Cedi, Indraratha, Tommāṇa and Bhīmaṭa.[58] This evidence helps us in fixing the chronology of the Somavaṁśīs and writing their political history.

The Kalacuri records[59] possess evidence of the relations between the different Kalacuri kings and their Somavaṁśī contemporaries and this contemporareity helps us in determining the Somavaṁśī chronology. From the inscriptions of the Nāga[60] kings of Bastar and the Telugu-Coḍa[61] family of Sonepur important facts about the later history of the Somavaṁśī rulers and the Kosala region are known. The inscriptions[62] of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala help us in tracing the origin of the Somavaṁśīs. The names of places found in the Somavaṁśī and Bhañja records[63] help us in tracing the extent of kingdom of the former.

The above records throw light on the chronology, political history, origin and the extent of the kingdom of the Somavaṁśīs Besides, interesting and useful information regarding the administration, society and religion in Orissa, during the rule of the Somavaṁśa, can be gleaned from the epigraphic records of the dynasty as well as their feudatories.

B. Archaeological Remains :—We come across a large number of monuments, assignable to the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa, spread over different parts of Orissa. They include temples, Buddhist monasteries and sculptures in metal and stone. Some of these monuments are *in situ* and some are in ruins. Bhubaneśwar, the capital city of Orissa in the district of Puri, contains a number of the above monuments.[64] Of these monuments at Bhubaneśwar the prominent ones are the

Brahmeśvara temple, the Mukteśvara temple, the Liṅgarāja temple and the Rājārānī temple.

The Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneśwar originally contained a stone inscription [65] stating that the temple was built by Kolāvatī, mother of Udyotakeśarī. The majestic Liṅgarāja temple[66] marked the zenith of the architectural development in the Somavaṁśī period. From the loose sculptures as well as the carvings on the walls of different temples of our period we get a fair indication about the socio-religious life of the people during the period.

The other remains of the Somavaṁśī art at Bhubaneśwar are the groups of Jain images carved in the Lalātendu Keśarī and the Navamuni caves of the Khandagiri hill during the time of Udyotakeśarī, as is evident from the inscriptions found in these [67] caves. Some other temples at Bhubaneśwar which can be ascribed to this period are Sureśvara temple, Gaurī temple, Kukuteśvara temple and four minor shrines inside the Lingarāja temple compound.

The Sapta mātṛkā figures on the bank of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri and Causaṭhi Yoginī temple at Hirapur near Bhubaneśwar are also specimens of the Somavaṁśī art in the coastal districts of Orrisa. In fact we find the best specimens of Somavaṁśī art in the districts of Cuttack and Puri. After the conquest of Utkala the Somavaṁśīs fixed their capital in the present Cuttack district, and therefore in Cuttack and the adjoining Puri district most of the Somavaṁśī monuments have been traced. With the extension of the political sway of the Somavaṁśīs, art also travelled from the Upper Mahānadī valley or Kosala to the Utkala region or the coastal strip in Orissa.

The temples of Pātāleśvara at Budhikomna in Kalahandi district, Indralāth and Causaṭhi Yoginī at Ranipur—Jharial in the Bolangir district, Bhubaneśvara, Svapneśvara and Paścima-Śambhūnātha inside the modern Rāmeśvara temple compound at Baud in the Phulabani district are a few of the earlier Somavaṁśī art in their original seat of power.

Besides, the other places containing the Somavaṁśī monuments are Jajpur town, Chaudwar, Kalarahanga near Baranga, Kandarpur near Athagada, Ganeśvarapur near Chatia, Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri complex and part of Prāci valley in the Cuttack district; Charampa and Ayodhya in the Balasore district: Kosaleśvara temple near Anandapur and Champua in the Keonjhar district; Prāci valley, Kuruma, Konark, Dayā valley, Banpur and Causaṭhi Yoginī temple at Hirapur in the district of Puri; Naikapada near Belaguntha and Malatigarh near Aska in the Ganjam district. The Śīva temple in the village of Govindapur in the Nayagarh sub-division of the Puri district contains an inscription on its door jamb. Since this inscription belongs to the time of Udyotakeśarī.[68] the temple might also have been built during the Somavaṁśī period. In another chapter we shall discuss at length about the archaeological remains assignable to the Somavaṁśī period and their significance.

Only one inscribed stone image[69] belonging to this period has come to light so far. This is an image of the Sun god containing an inscription of Karṇṇadeva of the Somavaṁśa. This was discovered by S.N. Rajaguru from the village Gandibedha near Soro in the Balasore district. It is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneśwar. A number of metal sculptures of the period under discussion and belonging to the Jaina as well as Buddhist pantheons were discovered from Banpur and at present are kept in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. These art specimens are useful for the study of religious and social conditions of the people under the Somavaṁśīs and their contribution to the development of Orissan art.

C. Literature:—Under literary source we have the *Rāmacarita*[70] by Sandhyākāranandi a twelfth century Sanskrit poetical work with a commentry. In this work the author has throughout used verses of double *entendre*[71] with the result that it reads as the story of *Rāmāyana* and at the same time as a chronicle of Rāmapāla, the great king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal as well.

In the commentry of this work it is stated that Jayasiṁha of Daṇḍakabhukti, the leiutenant of Rāmapāla, lifted with his hands Karnna Keśarī, the lord of Utkala.[72] Whereas the text reveals that Rāmapāla did favour the vanquished king of Utkala who was born in the lineage of *Bhava Bhūṣaṇa* (Ornament of Śiva) and rescued the whole world (from the terror of) Kaliṅga after having extirpated those robbers.[73]

These interesting references in the work of a court poet of the neighbouring Pāla kingdom are useful, for they throw light on the political condition of Orissa during the time of the last Somavaṁśī king and his relation with the contemporary rulers of the north and the south.

Another Sanskrit work belonging to the twelfth century A.D., *Payanadūta* by Dhoyi,[74] refers to Yayātinagara which was the capital city of the Somavaṁśī kings: The *Bhāktibhāgāvātā Mahākāvyām* by Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadeva, though a later work, bears direct references to the religious condition of Orissa during the rule of Udyotakeśarī.[75] Other works like *Bhāśvatī Śātānānda Ratnamālā and Śatānada Saṁgraha* belong to the last part of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.[76] The above works on *Smṛti* were written by Śatānaṅda who lived in Orissa during the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. The *Prabodha Candrodaya Nāṭakam* by *kṛṣṇa Miśra* (A.D. 1050-1070) gives us information on the Puruṣottama *Kṣetra* at Puri.[77] Some other contemporary and later works which throw light on Orissa during the Somavaṁśī rule are *Rāmābhyudayakāvyaṁ*[78] by Nārāyaṇa Śatkavi, *Rudravāmala*[79] (A.D. 950-1000), a tantric literature and *Mānasollaśa*[80] of Someśvara III (A.D. 1127-38).

Tīrtha Cintāmṇi,[81] a later religious literary work in Sanskrit by Vācaspati Miśra, referes to the different shrines at Bhubaneśwar and was probably intended as a pilgrims' guide. But the author of *Tīrtha Cintāmaṇi* seems to have based[82] his work on similar other texts on the religious shrines at Bhubaneśwar and Purī. These local works, namely, *Ekāmra Purāṇa Svarṇādri Mahodaya, Ekāmra Candrikā, Kapila Saṁhitā* and *Puruṣottama Candrikā* were written in a later period and yet they are important, for they give us a clear understanding of the location and the origional names of the different shrines at Bhubaneśwar and Purī. Most of the monuments at Bhubaneśwar, assigned to the Somavaṁśī period, are known to as by their original names from these sources. The *Tīrtha-kāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara (about A.D. 1110)[83] throws light on the monuments at Ranipur-Jharial in the district of Bolangir.

Other religious literature which throw light on Orissa and which were composed in between A.D. 900-1200[84] are the *Kurma Purāṇa*, *Bhūmi Khaṇḍa* of the *Padma Purāṇa*. *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa*, *Brahma Purāṇa*, and *Utkala Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. All these above literary sources throw important light, though unintentionally, on the socio-religious life of Orissa under the Somavaṁśī rule.

The *Mādalā Pāñji*,[85] the temple chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Puri is also a source for our study and has been so used by a number of scholars since W.W. Hunter, although, with regard to the date of the work and its authenticity many have expressed different views.

Mādalā Pāñji contains a long chronicle of kings, who ruled Orissa from the earliest times to the time of the *Bhoi* dynasty of the 16th century.[86] However, in this list there is no mention of the Somavaṁśa. But the names of many Somavaṁśī kings, known to us from their copper plates, are included in a long list of kings known as the *Keśarī* dynasty. It also describes their achievements in the field of art, religion and politics. The *Mādalā Pāñji* is basically a traditional work but it preserves a substratum of historical truth which will be discussed later.

Basing on the facts revealed by the above sources we have tried to reconstruct the history of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa in the following chapters giving new interpretations of them, wherever necessary, corroborated by historical evidences.

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18. Six short inscriptions are found at Kandarpur village in Athagarh Sub-division of Cuttack district. Three of them are inscribed on the Sukhasana hill near the village & the other three on the walls of the Pascvimesvara temple of Amangei in the same village. Five of them are listed as Nos. 1 to 5 (Plaster cast) in the Epigraphic Section, Orissa State Museum. The sixth one is referred to in "*The Early Stone temples of Orissa*, by Vidya Dehajia, New Delhi, 1979, p. 172.
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38. Nos. 13, 23, 33 and 38 of the above list.
39. Nos. 20, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 39 of the above list.
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41. *E.I.*, Vol., XXII, pp. 135-8 ff., and plate.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 135; Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, p. 216.
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3

ORIGIN OF THE SOMAVAMŚA

It is difficult to trace the origin of the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Orissa due to insufficient information given in their epigraphic records. However, the word 'Somavaṁśa' would itself suggest that the dynasty belonged to the family of Soma or the Moon. Besides, the copper plate grants of the dynasty clearly mention them as belonging to the family of the Moon[1]. The Vakratentali Grant of Mahābhavagupta mentions the phrase *Somakulatilaka*: the Kalibhana Plates[2] and the Nagpur Museum Plates[3] of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I record the word *Somavaṁśa*, *Śītāṁśuvaṁśa* is found in the Maranjamura Charter[4] of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II and Narasimhapur Charter[5] of Udyotakeśarī, the epithet *Somakulatilaka* again appears in the Ratnagiri Charter[6] of Karṇṇadeva.

The mention of *Somavaṁśa*, *Somavaṁśī*, *Somakulatilaka* and *Śītāṁśuvaṁśa* n the aforesaid copper plate records establishes the fact that the dynasty belonged to the family of the Moon. Some of the Somvaṁśī charters contain beautiful description of the Moon, to whom the dynasty is traced, and its origin. The Narasimhapur Charter describes the Moon and the dynasty as follows[7] :

1. *Oṁ (/) Jyotsnā—sā (śā) [li—samud—vibhuḥ—Kumudinī—hāsa=ika—sampā—*
2. *danā—dhūrtto—Dhṛ (dhūṛ) jaṭi—mauli—saudha— va [sa]—tiḥ pīyūṣa (ṣa)—dhārā—gṛhaṁ (/) Tār—ānta (ḥ)—pu—*
3. *ra—nāyako Rati—pateḥ śastṛekṛśāne pa (pha) laḥ kṣīrod=ārṇṇava—*
4. *nandano vijayate devaḥ sudh—ādīdhitiḥ (//) Asy=ānvaye mahata—sāndratamaḥ*
5. *kalaṅka—avicchāya—dig—valaya—mārjjana—kṛcchakasya (kṛt—karasya) (/) utpedire—sakala—sad—guṇa—*
6. *janmakandāḥ kund—āvadāta—yaśaso jagatāṁ bhujas=te (//)*

"The joyful luminous and nectar-rayed lord (Moon)—who is skilful in causing the lilies to laugh—who rests on the mansion of the head of Dhūrjaṭi—who is the store of nectar streams—who is the lord of stars in the inner apartments—who serves as point of arrow of the good archer love-god and who is the son of milk ocean—triumphs ever.

"In this illustrious dynasty of the Moon, whose lustre dispels the spot of intense darkness covering the horizon, were born the enjoyers of the earth, who, like bulb sent forth all the good qualities, and whose fame was as white as *kuṇḍa* (jasmine) flower."[8]

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription describes the origin of the moon as follows[9] :

1. Oṁ (/) Brahm=Upendra—Maheśvar=Indravalī [bhī rajju—kṛtahīśvarair =bhrā] myan—Mandara—parvatena [mathitāt—kṣīrodadher=madhyataḥ (/) visphīt—āmṛta—kau] mudībhir=akhilaṁ trai [lokyaṁ= Udyotayan—rājenduḥ] sakalā sama—
2. gra—vasatiḥ sārdaṁ śrīyā jātavān (//) Tad—va [ṁśe=ajaniśubhra—kīrttir=atulo vi] śvambha [rā—vallabho] rā [jā Śrī—Janame] jayaḥ....

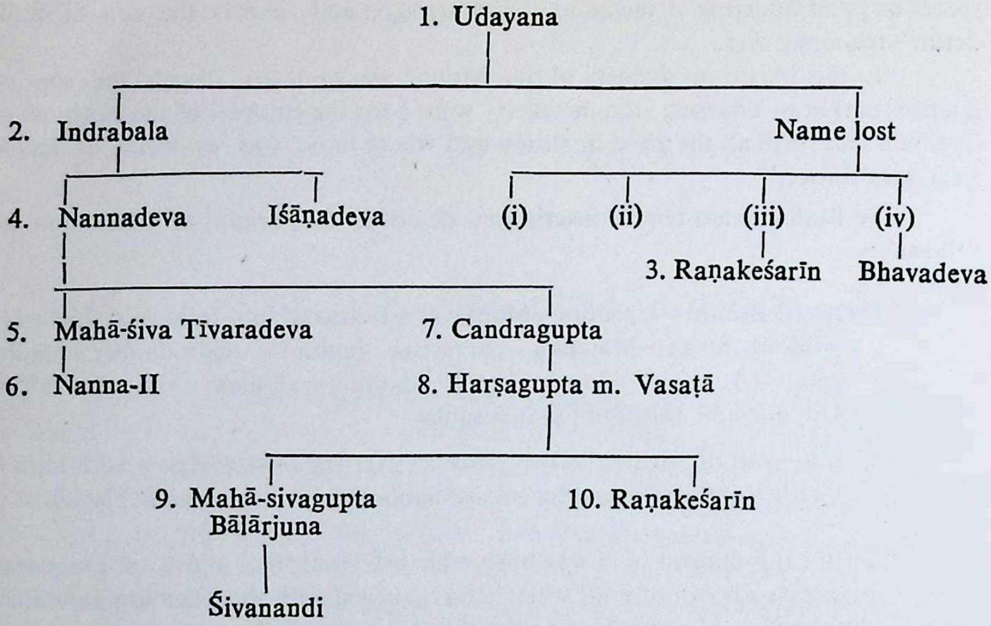
"Let the full-moon which was born with Śrī from the midst of the ocean called *kṣīrodadhi* or ocean of milk when it was churned with the Mandara mountain; encircled by the king of serpents serving the purpose of the churning rope and pulled by Brahmā, Upendra (Viṣṇu), Maheśvara, Indra and Balī, spread over the three regions with the light as sweet as nectar.

"In his (Moon's) family was born Rājā Janamejaya..."[10]

The above poetical expressions on the Moon establish the fact that the kings of the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Orissa traced their origin to the Moon. In ancient India many dynasties traced their origin to the Moon or the Sun,[11] and claimed to be Kṣatriyas by virtue of such divine origins. The claims of the Somavaṁśī dynasty are similar and therefore they may be regarded as Kṣatriyas.

While tracing the origin of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa it is relevant to take into account the epigraphic records[12] of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa, a dynasty which ruled over the Kośala during *circa* sixth-seventh centuries A.D.[13] From the epigraphic records of this dynasty we get the genealogy as shown on the next page.[14]

From the genealogical table it is apparent that there were ten kings of this dynasty who ruled in succession over Kosala with their capital at Śrīpura or modern Sirpur in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. The earlier kings of this dynasty referred to their dynasty as Pāṇḍuvaṁśa while the later members of the family called themselves as Somavaṁśī kings. The Bonda Plates[15] of Mahāśiva Tīvara refer to the dynasty as *Pāṇḍava Vaṁśa*. The Rajim Plates[16] and the Baloda Plates[17] of the same king refer to the family as *Pāṇḍu Vaṁśa*. Whereas the Adhabhara Plates[18] of Mahā-Nannarāja refer to the dynasty as *Śaśi Vaṁśa*. In the later epigraphic records of this dynasty, belonging to Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, occur the words and phrases like *Śītaṁśuvaṁśa—Vimala*[19], *Somavaṁśasaṁbhava*[20] and *Āsīdudayano nāmanṛpaḥ Śaśadhar-ā-nyāyaḥ.*[21] This would clearly show that this dynasty, ruling over Kosala, also belonged to the family of the Moon.


1. Udayana
2. Indrabala
Name lost
4. Nannadeva
Iśāṇadeva
(i)
(ii)
(iii)
(iv)
3. Raṇakeśarīn
Bhavadeva
5. Mahā-śiva Tīvaradeva
7. Candragupta
6. Nanna-II
8. Harṣagupta m. Vasaṭā
9. Mahā-sivagupta Bālārjuna
10. Raṇakeśarīn
Śivanandi

There was another royal family known as *Pāṇḍu Vaṁśa* which ruled over the Mekala region*, in the fifth century A.D.[22] From the Bamhani Plates[23] of Bharatabala we get the following genealogical table of the family :

Jayabala
|
Vatsarāja *m* Droṇabhaṭṭārikā
|
Nāgabala *m* Indrabhaṭṭārikā
|
Bharatabala *m* Lokaprakāśā

B.Ch. Chhabra, the editor of the Plates held the views that the donor of the Bamhani Plates *viz.* Bharatabala, was probably a vassal under the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena since a veiled reference to him occurs in line 34 of the text of the grant[24] and that Bharatabala's queen Lokaprakāśā was a princess of Kosala belonging to the *Amaraja-kula.* His views are shared by scholars like D.C. Sircar[25], V.V. Mirashi[26] and S.R. Nema.[27] Meanwhile, other new inscriptions of this dynasty have come to light from Malhar in Madhya Pradesh. The Malhar plates[28] of Surabala carry the genealogy of the dynasty to a generation further after Bharatabala. From these plates we come to know about Surabala, son of Bharatabala, for the first time. Another single plate[29], the second of a set of three plates, found from the same place describe Nāgabala and his queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā.

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* Mekala is identified with the modern Maikal range of mountains that forms a connecting link between the Vindyas and the Satpuras and stretches from the Khairagarh to Rewah in Madhya Pradesh. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 310.

From the Malhar Plates[30] it is evident now that Surabala was a son of Bharatabala and his queen Mahādevī; that Lokaprakāśa was not the name of Bharatabala's queen but a descriptive word, meaning 'world renowned', used in the verse 10 of the text of the Bamhani Plates; that Surabala has another name of Udīrṇṇavaira; that both the Bamhani and Malhar Plates were records of the same donor *viz*. Surabala *alias* Udīrṇṇavaira, son of Bharatabala; and that there is no veiled reference to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena, as suggested by Chhabra, to be found in line 34 of the Bamhani Plates where the word Narendra has been used for the donor Udīrṇṇavaira.

In the light of the above the views held by B.Ch. Chhabra are untenable now. It would thus appear that the Pānduvaṁśī kings of Mekala were ruling in the fifth century A.D. and the last known ruler of the family, Surabala, had issued both the Bamhani and Malhar Plates. Besides, his mother Mahādevī hailed from the Kosala country and belonged to the *Amaraja Kula*.

V.V. Mirashi[31] and S.R. Nema[32] are inclined to include the names of Rājan Vaiṣravaṇa and his father Mahāsenapati Bhadrabala, known from the Bandhogarh Cave inscriptions of Rājan Vaiṣravaṇa, in the genealogical list of the Pāṇḍava kings of Mekala as the predecessors of Jayabala. But Mahāsenapati Bhadrabala and Rājan Vaiṣravaṇa were generally identified with the Magha kings, Mahārāja Bhadramagha and Mahārāja Vaiṣravaṇa[33], whose stone inscriptions are found at Kosam, near Allahabad in U.P. Besides, the records of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings do not refer to the above two kings in their genealogy and refer to Jayabala as the single promoter of the dynasty. As such the views of V.V. Mirashi and S.R. Nema are difficult to accept here.

In both the Bamhani Plates[34] and the Malhar Plates[35] the dynasty is clearly referred to as belonging to the family of the Moon. The relevant verse in both the inscriptions read :

L. 34. *saumyah Somasya vaṁśaḥ prabhava iti jane* (*naih*)
L. 35. *Kīrtyate vasya.*
L. 36. *ch= och* (*ch**) *ai* (*ḥ**) *sah śrīmaṁ* (*man*) *samya* (*ba*) *bhūya* (*v=a*)
pratima—guṇa—gaṇa (*n=o*) *dīrṇṇavairo-narendraḥ* (II)[36].

Chhabra[37] gives the meaning of the above lines as : "and, further, whose birth is highly praised by the people as being in the famous Lunar race." Thus it would appear that this Mekala branch also belonged to the family of the Moon.

Scholars differ regarding the identification of the *Amaraja-kula* to which the queen of Bharatabala belonged. D.C. Sircar[38] identifies the *Amaraja kula* with the Śarabhapurīya dynasty on the basis of the charter of Vyāghrarāja of the Śarabhapurīya family wherein it is stated that he belonged to the *Amara-ārya-kula*. He further maintains that the queen of Bharatabala was a princess of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty. On the other hand Mirashi[39] identifies the king of Kosala belonging to the *Amaraja-kula* with Bhimasena I of the Sūra dynasty who ruled over Kosala about the same time as that of the Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala (*circa* A.D. 460-480). B. Ch.

Chhabra[40] considers the *Amaraja-kula* to be the Pāṇḍava dynasty of Kosala. But the view held by Mirashi seems to be more probable since about the end of the fifth century A.D. the Sūra dynasty and not the Śarabhapurīya dynasty was ruling over the Kosala country and they were succeeded by the Śarabhapurīya kings in Kosala.

It is a difficult task to link all the three branches of the lunar dynasty. We have no definite proof of their mutual connections except that all the three branches refer themselves as belonging to the family of the Moon. None of the three branches reveal their gotras in their respective copper plate grants which would have been helpful in linking the three branches together. Similarly, the royal seals, attached to the charters of the three branches vary considerably. While the seal attached to the Bamhani plates[41] is not clear the seal found with the Malhar Plates[42] has the figure of a couchant bull on its upper part and a legend, which reads *Srī-Pūruṣaḥ* below the figure of the bull.

On the other hand the earlier grants of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala, especially the grants of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva contain on their seals a legend in two lines of inscription[43], which reads :

Śrīmat=Tivaradevasya Kosalādhipater=idam (/)
Śāśanaṁdharmma vṛddhyarth (*ṁ*) *sthitam-ācandratārakam* (//)

"This edict, the object of which is the increase of merit, of the glorious Tīvaradeva, the sovereign of Kosala (shall) endure as long as the moon and the stars."[44]

The above legend is found across the surface of the seal above which are found the emblems of a Garuḍa facing full front and holding a snake in its hand. To its proper right is found a *chakra* (discus) and to the left proper a *śaṅkha* (conch-shell). In the lower part of the seal below the legend occurs a floral device.[45] These emblems, which are generally associated with lord Viṣṇu, changed into Śaivite symbols on the seals found attached to the rings of the copper plate grants of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, the last great ruler of the dynasty in Kosala. Like the seals of Tīvaradeva we have a legend in two lines across the seals of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. The legend reads :

1. *Rājñaḥ Srī-Harṣaguptasya sunoḥ sad-guṇa-śālinaḥ* (/)
2. *Śāśanaṁ Śivaguptasya sthitam=abhuvanasthiteḥ* (//)

"This is a charter, enduring as long as the world, of Śivagupta, the son of the king, the illustrious Harṣagupta, who shines by his good qualities."[46]

Two horizontal lines separate the emblems found on the upper part of the seals and the legend. The emblems consist of a couchant bull figure; facing proper left, in front of which is found a trident. Behind the bull figure is *Pūrṇa-kumbha* or a foliated vessel. Below the legend, on the lower part of the seals, are found a full-blown lotus flanked by two leaves.[47]

The seals of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa contain an altogether different emblem. These emblems represent the figure of a Gaja-Lakṣmī, seated on a lotus and flanked by an elephant on her each side (Pl. IB.). No legend is found on these seals and the figures, like the ones on the seals of the earlier branches, are carved in low-relief. The emblems on the seals of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa resemble with the motifs of the emblems found on the seals of the Śarabhapurīya kings attached with their copper plate grants.[48] Thus study of seals does not help us in establishing a satisfactory link between the three branches of the lunar dynasty.

Scholastic opinion differs on the relation between Surabala and Udayana, respectively the last and first members of the Mekala and Kosala branches of the dynasty. D.C. Sircar, while suggesting that Lokaprakāśā, the queen of Bharatabala, belonged to the family of the Śarabhapurīyas, considers that Udayana, a member of another branch of the Pāṇḍava family of Central India, was most probably a contemporary of Nāgabala, father of Bharatabala.[48a] He assigns the Bamhani Plates, allegedly of Bharatabala, on palaeographical considerations to the close of the fifth century A.D. or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. On the basis of this dating he advances his theory of contemporaneity of Nāgabala and Udayana.

Following Sircar, S.N. Rajaguru, on the other hand, thinks that the Pāṇḍava kings of Mekala were related to the Śarabhapurīyas matrimonially and as such they took up service under the latter after leaving Mekala.[49]

V.V. Mirashi,[49a] on the other hand, considers that Udayana was probably a son and successor of Bharatabala. His suggestion is based on the Bamhani Plates. S.R. Nema,[50] too following Mirashi, holds the same view. But we have shown already that the recently discovered Malhar plates clearly refer to Surabala as the son and successor of Bharatabala. In view of this the suggestion of Mirashi becomes untenable. Very recently A.M. Shastri[51] has tried to place the Bamhani plates and the Malhar Plates of Surabala about the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. But he does not refer to the relation between the Mekala and Kosala branch of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa.

Actually from the above observations it is clear that no scholar is definite about the relation between the two Pāṇḍava families of Mekala and Kosala. None of them have any authentic evidence to show that the above two families belonged to a single lineage. As such it would be safe to assume that Udayana, who was probably a scion of the family, tried to establish a new kingdom about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. in around, probably, the same area, where the Mekala branch ruled earlier. Probably, the rising Vākāṭakas under king Hariṣena (*circa* A.D. 485-510), put an end to the rule of the earlier Pāṇḍava kings of Mekala. Our suggestion is based on the following evidences.

B. Ch. Chhabra, while editing the Bamhani plates, describes that the Mekala kingdom was divided into two provinces, one called *Uttara-rāṣṭra* and the other *Dakṣiṇa-rāṣṭra*, that the river Son in its upper reaches within Rewa State possibly formed a natural boundary line between the two and that the whole of Mekala comprised the south eastern part of the Rewa State, portions in the north of the Bilaspur district and some area in the east of Mandla district.[52]

From another copper plate grant[53] of Mahārāja Bharatabala discovered at

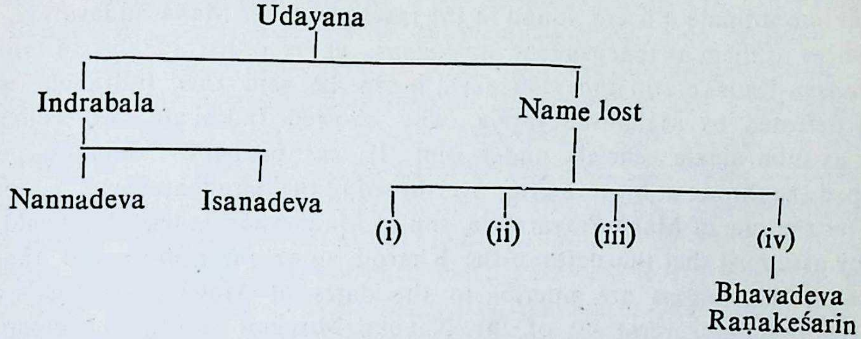
Malhar in Bilaspur district it can be inferred that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Mekala had that area under their control. That Udayana and later Indrabala of the Kosala branch were ruling over the same territory is evident from the Lakṣaṇeśvara temple inscription[54] at Kharod and the Kalanjar stone inscription[55] of Udayana. The later inscription reveals that Udayana had constructed a temple at Kalanjar. In this connection S.R. Nema, following V.V. Mirashi writes that it is much easier for a ruler of Bandodgarh (Mekala) to invade and occupy Kalanjar than it would be for a ruler of Chhattisgarh.[56] The former inscription at Kharod describes the exploits of Indrabala, his younger brother's son, Bhavadeva Raṇakeśarīn and Nannadeva, son of Indrabala, while describing Indrabala as an independent king. Kharod or the northern portion of the Bilaspur district was thus under the control of Indrabala and his son Nannadeva.

From the above it can be said that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala, at the beginning, started their rule in around the same area where the Mekala branch were ruling earlier. But it is difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge the relation between Surabala and Udayana and the circumstances in which Udayana founded his kingdom in the same area. Regarding the rule of the later members of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala over the area, around Śrīpura in the eastern Kosala, scholars hold divergent views.

As already stated above D.C. Sircar and following him S.N. Rajaguru hold the view that Lokaprakāśā, the queen of Bharatabala, belonged to the Śarabhapurīrya dynasty. Rajaguru further suggests that as a result of the invasion of the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣena, during whose rule the Vākāṭaka power was revived, the Pāṇḍava dynasty of the Mekala region was ousted and was forced to take shelter and serve as subordinate officers in the dominions of the Śarabhapurīyas which they later inherited after the downfall of the Śarabhapurīya kings due to the invasion of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II.[57] To corroborate his suggestion he cites the reference to Indrabala, who is described as *Śrī-Mahā-sāmanta*, *Sarvādhikārādhikṛta* and *Dūtaka* in the Sarangagarh[58] and Kauvatal Plates[59] of Mahāsudevarāja, son of Mahādūrgarāja of the Śarabhapurīya dynasty. Besides, the Sirpur Plates[60] of Mahāsudevarāja also refer to Nannarāja, the son of Indrabala, as a subordinate officer and it thus lends further support to Sri Rajaguru's suggestion.

According to V.V. Mirashi,[61] Indrabala, son of Udayana, after loosing Mekala, seems to have moved to Kosala where he began to rule as a feudatory of the contemporary Śarabhapura king, Mahā-Sudevarāja. D.C. Sircar, on the other hand, believes that Indrabala (son of Udayana) did not inherit his father's kingdom but went to the Śarabhapurīya court and accepted service under the Śarabhapurīyas whom he or most probably his immediate successors ultimately, overthrew.[62] Dr. Mirashi further believes that Indrabala seems to have overthrown Mahā-Pravararāja, son of Mahā-Sudevarāja, soon after his accession and aggrandised himself at the cost of his suzerain.

The mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakṣmaṇeśvara at Kharod issued by Iśāṇadeva, son of Indrabala, describes Indrabala as an independent king whose lotus like feet looked resplendant with the rows of the crest-jewels of all kings.[63] The Nagpur Museum inscription[64] of Bhavadeva Raṇakeśarīn of the Pāṇḍava family describes Nannarāja or Nannarājādhirāja, of the same family, as one who had conquered the earth. It describes the family's genealogy up to Nannarāja as follows[65]:



On the basis of the above evidences S.R. Nema[66] thinks that Udayana, through his mother Lokaprakāśā, was related to the family of Sūra or Sūryaghosa and he flourished in the territory formerly held by the family of Sūra alongwith the Mekala region that his son Indrabala and grandson Nannadeva were independent kings; and that they should not be identified with their anonymous officials referred to in the aforesaid copper plate grants of the Śarabhapurīya kings.

Regarding the circumstances which brought the above Pāṇḍava kings to Kosala he holds that the Śarabhapurīyas, ruling over the *Pūrva-rāsṭra*, tried to extend their territory towards west, from the time of Mahārāja Jayarāja, at the cost of the kingdom of the Sūra family. Udayana, who was then ruling in the Mekala territory, intervened in this affair because of his relations with the Sūra family. But due to the threat from the rising Maukhari power in his original kingdom he probably, assigned his two sons, i.e., Indrabala and his brother (whose name is lost in the Nagpur Museum Inscription of Bhavadeva) to continue the struggle with the Śarabhapurīyas. He further states that after the death of Udayana his vast kingdom was shattered and Indrabala faced a critical situation having lost his *Uttara-rāsṭra* of Mekala, probably, to the Maukharis. His *Daksiṇa-rāsṭra* was also, probably, lost due to the extension of power by the Ucchakalpa Mahārāja Hastīn to the Ḍāhala county or around the modern Jabalpur, some time before A.D. 517.[67] Thus he was left only with the territories of the northern portions of the Bilaspur district and some area in the east of Mandala district (or areas around Kharod and Arang, the find spots of Lakṣmaneśvara temple inscription and the Nagpur Museum Inscription). Referring to the records[68] of the Śarabhapurīya kings Mahā-Sudeverāja and his brother Mahā-Pravararāja, Nema has tried to show that the Śarabhapurīyas first made Śrīpura their secondary capital and due to the menace of Nannarāja in the west of their kingdom, they made it their permanent capital. According to Nema the division of the Śarabhapurīya kingdom, as evident from the Malhar Plates of Vyāghra[69] considerably weakened the Śarabhapura power and led to its overthrow, probably, by Nannarāja of the Pāṇḍava dynasty.

Since there is no actual evidence, which would clearly show the transfer of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī power from Mekala to Kosala, it would be safe to surmise that the Pāṇḍava kings of Kosala first started their rule in the Mekala region, as stated above. To account for the discrepancies in the references to Indrabala and Nannarāja as subordinate officers, found in the inscriptions of Mahā-Sudevarāja, and the references to them as independent sovereigns, as recorded in the inscriptions of Bhavadeva-Raṇakeśarīn and Iśāṇadeva, it can be said that Indrabala was most likely defeated by Mahā-Sudevarāja, who allowed Indrabala and Nannarāja to work as subordinate officials under him. It was probably Nannarāja who had usurped the throne at Śrīpura after overthrowing the Śarabhapurīyas either during or after the rule of Mahā-Pravararāja, son of Mahā-Sudevarāja. This would be borne out by assuming that the dates of the Kharod stone inscription and the Nagpur Museum Inscriptions are anterior to the dates of Mahā-Sudevarāja's aforesaid records. Secondly, verse 40 of the Nagpur Museum Inscription describing the exploits of Nannarāja has been considered as a later addition, alongwith three other following verses (41-43), by its editor Dr Kielhorn.[70] In such a case it would explain for Nannarāja's independent status as a conqueror of earth, because by that time he had occupied Kosala overthrowing the Śarabhapura power.

A perusal of the history of the Pāṇḍava family in Kosala would reveal that Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva,[71] the son of Nannarāja, was the real founder of the greatness of the family in Kosala. The epithet *Prāpta-sakala-kosalādhipatyaḥ*[72] supports the above view. Tīvaradeva was probably ruling over Kosala during *circa* A.D. 540-565.[73] We find from the records of the later members of this family that after Tīvaradeva four members of the family *viz.* Candragupta, Nanna II, Harṣagupta and Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna ruled over Kosala for about a century more. The last known ruler Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna ruled for a pretty long time and his latest epigraphic record was recorded in his fifty-seventh regnal year.[74]

As to the successor of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna scholars hold different opinions. Cunningham is of the opinion that Śivagupta of the Vakratentali Grand is identical with Bālārjuna.[75] N.K. Sahu suggests that Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya of the Orissan branch was probably the son and successor of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.[76] In this regard B.C. Mazumdar has a veiled suggestion when he says that the son of Bālārjuna who was ousted from Śrīpur and retained the eastern portion of *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala, which may be called the Sambalpur tract.[77] S.N. Rajaguru,[78] while hesitating to link Śivagupta or Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna with Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I on account of palaeographical differences, believes[79] that this difference in the palaeography as seen from the copper plates of Bālārjuna and Janamejaya was probably due to a change of script and suggests that there is no reason why Śivagupta Bālārjuna cannot be taken as the father of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I.

Scholars, who do not agree with the view that Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I was the son of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, base their argument on the palaeographic differences found in the epigraphic records of the above kings. Fleet[80] thinks that this palaeographic difference is more than a century. S.N. Rajaguru[81] too, first accepted this suggestion. D.C. Sircar[82] says that the relation between the later Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of Kosala and the earlier Somavaṁśa of Orissa cannot be determined properly due to want of definite information.

Mirashi assigns the Bonda Plates[83] of Mahāśivagupta, issued in his twenty-second regnal year, to the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Following the *Indian Ephemeris* by Swamy Kannu Pillai he refers the exact date of issue of the above charter to the 20th December of A.D. 616. He also suggests[84] that it was during the rule of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna or his successor the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the capital of Kosala. This view is also shared by scholars like P.B. Desai,[85] L.P. Pandeya,[86] M.G. Dikshit[87] and B.C. Jain.[88] S.R. Nema has referred the date of Mahāśīvagupta Bālārjuna to A.D. 595 to 655.[89] On the other hand Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I has been assigned to a date in the late ninth or tenth century A.D. by some of the above scholars.[90] As such it is difficult for us to accept the above suggestions of N.K. Sahu, S.N. Rajaguru, Cunningham and B.C. Mazumdar. Thus it is difficult to establish the line between the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa as we have a period of about two centuries during which we do not get any evidence to show the activities of the family.

A study of the political condition of Kosala during the above period, as discussed below, would lead us to believe that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa had to move to the eastern part of Kosala, comprising the Sambalpur-Sonepur tract in Orissa, where they came to be known as Somavaṁśīs of Orissa.

Nothing definite is known about the history of the Pāṇḍava kings of Kosala after Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. As per the evidences gleaned from the Sirpur Stone Inscription[91] and the Gandheśvara temple inscription at Sirpur,[92] both belonging to the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. S.R. Nema[93] suggests Raṇakeśarī and Śivanandi as successors of Bālārjuna. He further suggests that the Cālukya king Vikramāditya[93a] (*circa* A.D. 655-81) probably extended his sway over Kosala during the rule of Raṇakeśarī which considerably weakened the power of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala. Since this suggestion is not supported by any concrete evidences it would not be safe to support it. Besides, other epigraphical references attest to the rule of Nalas and then Bāṇa kings over Kosala with its centre at Śrīpura during the 7th-8th centuries A.D. The Nala occupation of Kosala is known from the Rājivalocana temple inscription of the Nala king Vilāstunga at Rajim in the Raipur district of M.P. The inscription is dated differently by different scholars.[94] This would lead us to believe that the rising Nalas ousted the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala from the Raipur district some time after the rule of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. According to S.R. Nema this event must have taken place towards the close of the seventh century A.D. and under the king Pṛthivīrāja, the first Nala king mentioned in the Rājivalocana temple inscription. Thus the remaining areas of Kosala comprising of the present Bilaspur and Sambalpur districts in M.P. and Orissa respectively remained under the control of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs.[95]

An inscription found on the architrave of the door of the sanctum of a temple at Pāli,[96] about twelve miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district of M.P., reveals that the temple was built by Vikramāditya, son of Malladeva. Bhandarkar[97] suggests him to be a Bāṇa king. This Vikramāditya is generally identified with the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya *alias* Jayameru (A.D. 870-895) son of Malladeva, of the Gudimallam Plates.[98] This led scholars to believe that the Bāṇas had established themselves in the territory, presently known as the Bilaspur district of M.P. for some time until the rise of the Kalacuris under their able king Kokala-I.[99] This is also evident from the Bilhari Stone Inscription,[100] wherein it is stated that Mugdhatunga, son of Kokalla, had wrested Pāli from the lord of Kosala. This lord of Kosala has been identified with a Bāṇa king.[101] As such it would be proper to assume that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings first lost their south western territory to the Nalas and later they lost the remaining territories to the Bāṇas.

Besides, the rise of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala, in the second half of the ninth century A.D., must have been also responsible for the shifting of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī power to further east, to the Sonepur-Sambalpur tract in Orissa.

Thus we see that the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa had their origin in the Mekala country in central India. Though we are not definite about the relationship of each of the three branches of this Lunar dynasty with the other it is clear that they had to move away from their original homeland, due to the various circumstances that prevailed upon them and out of necessity, first to Kosala and finally to Orissa, they ruled gloriously for about two hundred years.

Notes and References

1. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95, lines 3-4 of the text.
2. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XX, pp. 238-45, line 10 of the text.
3. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-48, line 5 of the text.
4. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II (1916), pp. 45-55, line-10 of the text.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15 ff., line 10 of the text.
6. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-74 ff, line. 32 of the text.
7. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15 ff, lines 1-6. This is repeated in the Ratnagiri Charter, *cf. E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-74, lines 1-5 of the text.
8. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII.
9. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-62 ff, lines 1-2.
10. *J.R.S.B.*, *Letters*, Vol. XIII (1947), p. 71.
11. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 87.
12. Most of the epigraphic records of the dynasty have been compiled by S.N. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV. They are listed as Nos. 1 to 15, 45, 47 to 49. Also *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 616 & 621; Hiralal, *Ins. of C.P. and Berar*, No. 208, p. 125; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 219f.; S.R. Nema, *P.H.S.S.K.O.*, pp. 56-61.
13. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p.90; V.V. Mirashi, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 60 ff.
14. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
15. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 111-16, line 16.
16. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 291-99, line 16.
17. *E.I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 102-107, lines 18-19.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 219-22, line 5.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-6, Verse-3.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 287-91, line 4; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-32, line-4; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 60-65, lines 4.5.
21. *L·A.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81, lines 2.3.
22. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, pp. 222-23; V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 217.
23. B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132-45 ff.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 222.
26. V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*
27. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 12.
28. B. Sitaraman and M.J. Sharma, *J.E.S.T.*, Vol. III, pp. 183-93 and Plates.
29. K.D. Bajpai, Foreword to the book *Political History of the Somavaṁsī kings of S. Kosala and Orissa*, by S.R. Nema, pp. XI-XII.
30. *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 185-188 ff.
31. V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 213 ff.
32. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-9 ff.
33. K.D. Bajpai, *The Indian Numismatic chronicle*, Vol. III, p. 12; B. Ch. Chhabra, *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 52; A.S. Altekar, "The Maghas of South Kosala" in *The Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol. I, p. 149.
34. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 ff, lines 32-34.
35. *J.E.S.I*, Vol. III, pp. 183 ff, lines 34-36.
36. *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. III. p. 191.
37. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 144.
38. *H.C.I.P.* Vol. III, p. 223; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 48.
39. V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 217.
40. *E I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 140.
41. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 133.
42. *J.E.S.I*, Vol. III, p. 184 and plate.
43. S.N. Rajaguru, *I.O.*, Vol. IV, p. 28.
44. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 292.
45. *Ibid.*, *E.I.*, Vol, XXXIV, p. 111.
46. *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 114.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 263.
48a. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 223.
49. *Op. cit.*, p. 318.
49a. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 218-19.
50. *Op. cit.*, Vol. pp. 93-95.
51. A.M. Shastri, "The Date of the Bamhani and Malhar Plates of Surabala Udirnavaira" Paper presented in the Ahmedabad Congress of the *E.S.I.*, March, 1980.
52. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 138.
53. A grant in the possession of Prof. K.D. Bajpai of Sagar University, S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 101.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92, fn; Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C.P. & Berar*, No. 14, p. 13.
55. *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 621; *E.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 257, fn. 4.
56. S. R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 94.
57. S.N. Rajaguru, *I.O.*, Vol. IV, p. 318.
58. *I.H.Q.*, Vol., XXI, pp. 294-5 ff.
59. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 314-16 ff.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 102 f; *Mahakosala Historical Society Papers*: Vol. II, p. 43f.
61. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 219.
62. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 221.
63. V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 241, fn. 1.

64. *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 629.
65. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 93.
66. *Op. cit.*, p. 102.
67. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 284.
68. *Op. cit.*, p. 103 fn.
69. *Op. cit.*, p. 103; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 45 f.
70. *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 629.
71. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIV; *Ibid.*, p. 103.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
73. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, pp. 90.
74. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 319-25 ff.
75. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 17, 85 and 87.
76. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. III, pp. 130-32 ff; *New Aspects of History of Orissa*. Sambalpur University, 1971; Vol. I, pp. 16-18 ff.
77. B.C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 172.
78. *Op. cit.*, p. 359.
79. *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 49-50 ff.
80. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 340-44 ff.
81. *I.O.* Vol. IV, pp. 359.
82. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 146.
83. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 60-65 ff.
84. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 118.
85. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 289.
86. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 113fn.
87. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 34 and 197.
88. *Ibid.*, p 220.
89. *Op. cit.*, 1 p. 90.
90. See the Chronology chapter below 89.
91. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 191, verse 12, line 9.
92. *Proceedings of AS, Western Circle*,(*PRAS, WC*) 1904, pp. 48-49. No. 2015.
93. *Op. cit.*, p. 140.
93a. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42 fn.
94. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 f; *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 7.
95. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 147.
96. *P.R.A.S.*, *WC* (1903-4), p. 52; *P.I.H.C.*, 1939, pp. 319f; V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 311.
97. *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 1 ff.
98. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 3.
99. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 87.
100. *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 256, verse 23, line 10, p. 265.
101. V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part-I, pp. 1xxviii, 1xxxviii; *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 36.

4

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SOMAVAṀŚA

The chronology of the Somavaṁśa has been a subject of great controversy among the scholars writing on the history of Orissa. This is because the kings of this dynasty have neither followed any known Indian era nor used an era of their own in their epigraphic records. The inscriptions of this dynasty only record the regnal years of the kings. The Ratnagiri Charter[1] records all the names of the kings of this dynasty who ruled in succession. The names of the kings in succession are as follows :

1. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya I.
2. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti I.
3. Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha.
4. Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha.
5. Mahābhavagupta III Naghuṣa (Nahuṣa).
6. Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti II.
7. Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakeśari.
8. Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya II.
9. Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya.
10. Mahāśivagupta V Karṇṇadeva.

A new copper plate charter[2] was discovered in 1965 which reveals new facts about Indraratha, a king of this dynasty, who is known to us from the records of the Cola king Rājendra I (A.D. 1012-1044)[3]. Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta were probably the paramount titles[4] of the kings of this dynasty. From the regnal years recorded in the copper plate charters of each of the Somavaṁśī kings it can be inferred that the dynasty ruled over Orissa for more than two centuries. Scholars are not unanimous about the exact date of the beginning and the end of their rule in Orissa. Before recording our findings about their chronology, it is therefore necessary to give different views about it.

The *Mādalā Pāñji*[5], the temple chronicle of the Jagannātha temple of Purī, takes the fifth century A.D. to be the beginning of the Somavaṁśī* rule in Orissa.

*. In the *Mādalā Pāñji* the dynasty is referred to as the Keśari dynasty. We will critically analyse in another chapter the authenticity of the *Mādalā Pāñji* as a source of ancient history of Orissa.

Andrew Stirling[6] was the first scholar to write on the history of Orissa. Following the *Mādalā Pāñji* he gives A.D. 473 as the date of accession of Yayāti, the first ruler of the so-called Keśarī dynasty and he believes that from this date the real history of Orissa commenced[7]. The next Orientalist to write on Orissa's history and culture was W.W. Hunter[8]. In 1872 he wrote his book 'Orissa' and in it, following the *Puruṣottama Candrikā*[9], a Bengali work based on the *Mādalā Pāñji*, he, too, assigns the fifth century A.D. as the commencement of the so-called Keśarī rule in Orissa, but he differs slightly from Mr. Stirling in ascribing the date for Yayāti Keśarī, whose accession he places in A.D. 472.

In 1876 a copper plate charter[10] of the Somavaṁśī dynasty was brought to light for the first time. The charter, known as the *Kaṭaka* Plates of Mahābhavagupta's 31st regnal year, was edited by Babu Rangalal Banerjee. He held the views that Mahābhavagupta belonged to the Gupta dynasty; that the king Yayāti mentioned in the "Cuttack Plates of Mahāśivagupta"[11], which were still unpublished then but which had been noticed by him, should be identified with the Yayāti Keśarī, mentioned in the *Rāja Carita* chapter of the *Mādalā Pāñji*. Following Stirling's identification he also held that Yayāti was ruling over Orissa when Mahābhavagupta's son Mahāśivagupta was ruling over the three Kalingas; and that all chiefs of Orissa were feudatories of the Gupta kings. Here the late Banerjee accepted the *Virudas* or the surnames of the Somavaṁśī kings as the names of their overlords. Following Stirling's date, he also suggested the same period i.e. the fifth century A.D. to be the beginning of the Somavaṁśa rule in Orissa.

R.L. Mitra, too, while editing the Chaudwar Plates[12] of Mahābhavagupta I's 31st regnal year in 1882 followed Babu Rangalal Banerjea and suggested that Yayāti was the founder of the dynasty in Orissa and that he ruled from A.D. 474 to 526. Mitra placed the date of the record about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

General Sir Alexandar Cunningham[13] while publishing the Rajim Copper Plates of Tīvaradeva of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa, identified Bālārjuna Śivagupta with Śivagupta, mentioned in the copper plates of Mahābhavagupta I and following the *Mādalā Pāñji* gave A.D. 475 as the date of accession of Yayāti.

It will thus be seen that the earlier scholars ascribed a very early date to the Somavaṁśa of Orissa following the *Mādalā Pāñji*. But ever since they wrote, several other epigraphic records have come to light, which make their views untenable. At the time when these pioneers of Orissan history wrote, the *Mādalā Pāñji* was considered to be of greatest importance to scholars. But later evidences, as we shall discuss below, prove that this local chronicle is not quite reliable. With the advent of scinetific researches, palaeography became an important factor in determining the dates of the epigraphic records. The fifth century A D. as the beginning of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa cannot now be accepted, because, such an early date will conflict with all other known dates of Orissan history and Indian history alike.

The later scholars who followed these pioneers also differ in dating the Somavaṁśa rule in Orissa. The basis for their dating is the study of the palaeography of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions and recorded history of other contemporary dynasties of India.

In 1838, while editing the Brahmeśvara temple inscription[14] of the time of Udyotakeśarī, James Prinsep held the view that on the basis of the development of the Nāgarī script, the inscription should be assigned to a date later than A.D. 617, the date of Lalāta Indra Keśāri as given in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. It is important to note here that Prinsep on palaeographic considerations did not agree with the dates of the Keśarī kings given in the *Mādalā Pāñji*.

Scholars like M.M. Ganguli[15] and L.P. Pandeya[16] hold the view that the Somavaṁśī power in Orissa grew to prominence before the ninth century A.D. M.M. Ganguli also came to this conclusion after a study of the monuments of Orissa.

Of late S.N. Rajaguru[17] and N.K. Sahu[18] are of the opinion that the Somavaṁśīs became prominent in Orissa in the early part of the ninth century A.D. Previously, Sri Rajaguru held the view that Janamejaya I came to power around the year A.D. 919[19]. The earlier view of Sri Rajaguru was based on the study of palaeography, which was corroborated by some astronomical data found from the copper plates of Janamejaya I and as interpreted by him. His later view is based on the study of palaeography of the inscriptions of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna[20] and Janamejaya I, whom he takes to be the son[21] of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. Since his views are self contradictory, we are unable to accept them.

Other scholars like H.C. Ray[22], R.C. Mazumdar[23], R.D. Banerjee[24], P. Acharya[25], H.K. Mahatab[26], D.C. Sircar[27], D.K. Ganguli[28], P.R. Srinivasan[29] and Ajaya Mitra Shastri[30] have assigned the beginning of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa to the first half of the tenth century A.D. and S.R. Nema[31], also adhere to the same view. The conclusions of the first five scholars mentioned above were based on the latest evidences which they could get at the time of their writing. But other scholars have only followed D.C. Sircar, who assigns Janamejaya I's reign to a period between A.D. 935 to 970. In the meanwhile several new records have come to light and with their help it is now possible to revise the dates of the Somavaṁśī rulers of Orissa.

J.F. Fleet[32] was the first epigraphist, who, on palaeographical grounds refuted all the earlier views and pointed out that Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I was the real founder of the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Orissa. He also pointed out that Mahābhavaguta and Mahāśivagupta are surnames borne by the kings of this dynasty. On the basis of the palaeographic studies of the six[33] copper plates grants of the first three kings of the dynasty, he suggested eleventh century A.D.[34] to be the date of the aforesaid records.

Prof. F. Kielhorn, while editing the Kudopali Plates[35] of the time of Mahābhavagupta II, assigned the record a date in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. In agreement with Dr. Fleet he dated back the reign periods of Janamejaya I and Yayāti I to the eleventh century A.D. Prof. Hultzsch[36] and G.M. Laskar[37], also agree with the view of Dr. Fleet.

Another view regarding the date of the Somavaṁśī rule is shared by B.C. Mazumdar[38], Binayak Misra[39] and K.C. Panigrahi[40]. They put the beginning of the

Somvaṁśī rule in Orissa in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. and this suggestion seems most probable to us. In the light of the suggestions of the above mentioned scholars we shall try to show that they were substantially correct.

In determining the chronology of the Somavaṁśa we must take into account certain known dates and events that took place during the reigns of the different kings of this dynasty. In this respect the references to the kings of the Somavaṁśa of Orissa, as gleaned from the records of other dynasties, will be of great help. Besides, as the copper plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara rulers record an era of their own, and as the Somavaṁśīs were the immediate successors of the Bhauma-Karas in Orissa, proper fixation of the initial year of the Bhauma *Saṁvat* or era would indirectly help us in fixing the Somavaṁśa chronology.

As to certain events and dates in the chronology of Somavaṁśa, the year A.D. 1021 is important. By this year a general of Rajendra Cola[41], of the Cola dynasty, had already invaded *Oḍra-Viṣaya* and Kosalaināḍu and probably killed Indraratha, the king of Oḍra.

There is an inscription, found engraved in the Lalātendu Keśarī Gumphā (Cave) of the Khandagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. The record, which is a private one[42], refers to the regin of Udyotakeśari, and mentions 549 of an unspecified era. Referred to any other era, the year 549 does not give a possible date which can be assigned to this Somavaṁśī king. It has therefore been referred to the Ganga era of A.D. 496. The year 549 thus corresponds to A.D. 1045.

The Lingarāja temple inscription[43] of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva (A.D. 1078-1150) of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty is dated in the *Śaka* year 1036 corresponding to A.D. 1114. This indicates that he had occupied Orissa some time before the year A.D. 1114, after putting an end to the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.

It is possible to establish some synchronisms between the Kalacuri rulers of Tripurī and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa. Since the reign periods of the Kalacuri kings are known approximately, such synchronisms become valuable in fixing the Somavaṁśī chronology.

The Patna Museum Plates[44] of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I contain three supplementary verses at the end of the charter and read as follows :

> _So=bhu (bhūn)=nṛpaḥ Soma—kul—āvia (bia)—bhānuḥ Svabhāvatuṅgo nija-pauruṣeṇa (/) Yaḥ kosālapālana—kaumud—endur (kaumud-īndur)=vijitya Cau (Cai) dyān—vitatāna (Lakṣmiḥ) / (/) Rāmā-harā (ṁ*)s=Cedipa=(dvipa$^{\times}$)—Vaddhā (ān$^{\times}$) (gha$^{\times}$)—_
> _tan sa—bhaṭa—chedi (i)—prabhṛti (i) n (/*) maṇḍanika—_
> _n—prā (grā) hita—śa (sa) rvva=rāmāh sa—Laksmaṇo Rāma=iv=āpta se—tuḥ (tuṁ) [/*] Tasmāta (t) sū (su) to Visṇur=iv=ājanyesṭa (ṣtam) yva (ya) d—Jyu (yu) [va$^{\times}$] rājam—vighaṭa—pratāpaṁ(m/) tṛṇāya caidyaṁ yata (na ca) manyamāno dagdhā (dagdhvā) Dahālā) (Dāhalāṁ) vijanāñ=cakāra_[45]_/o/_

The first verse speaks of *Svabhāvatuṅga* and the next two describe his son's achievements. D.C. Sircar[46] identifies *Svabhāvatuṅga*, of the above verses, with

Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. His view is shared by Ajaya Mitra Shastri[47] and D.K. Ganguli[48]. But S.N. Rajaguru[49] identifies *Svabhāvatuṅga* with Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. K.C. Panigrahi[50] also gives the same opinion. Thus *Svabhāvatuṅga* was an epithet of Janamejaya I.

The view of D.C. Sircar is not acceptable to us for several reasons. Firstly, the Patna Museum Plates in its short supplement mention clearly that *Svabhāvatuṅga* expanded the fortunes of the Kosala country by his own valour and became king by his own merit; that his son without caring for the powerful Caidya Yuvarāja, depopulated Ḍāhala by burning it and he captured along with soldiers an elephant herd engaged in carrying away women, and brought them to the boundary of his own kindgdom. It is thus clear that *svabhāvatuṅga* was no other than Janamejaya I and his son i.e. Yayāti I fought alongwith his father or alone against the Caidya or the Kalacuri rulers of Ḍāhala and defeated the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja. It was not popular to record the achievements of a crown prince in his father's official records (royal decrees) in ancient times. Besides, Yayāti I, probably, had allowed the above three verses to be engraved because they were not mentioned in any of his father's records as he had this achievement to his credit when he was a crown prince.

Secondly, not a single copper plate charter of Bhīmaratha, son and successor of Yayāti I, credits Bhīmaratha with the conquest of Ḍāhala. But three other copper plates[51] of Yayāti I, one copper plate[52] of Bhīmaratha and the Khandapara Plates[53] of Dharmaratha credit Yayāti I with the capture of a herd of elephants and the rescue of some women, as stated in the short supplements of the Patna Museum Plates of Yayāti I. Thus it would seem that Janamejaya I and Yayāti I were in conflict with the Kalacuri rulers of Ḍāhala and that Yuvarāja of the Kalacuri dynasty was a contemporary of Yayāti I.

There were two Yuvarājas in the Tripurī branch of the Kalacuri dynasty. It will be difficult to identify Yuvarāja of the Patna Museum Plates with Yuvarāja II. Because it is known that both Yuvarāja II and his brother Śaṅkaragaṇa lacked that military prowess which their predecessors possessed[54]. Moreover, the above inscription describes Yuvarāja as a powerful Caidya king. Hence the Yuvarāja of our inscription should be identified with Yuvarāja I (*circa* A.D. 915 to 945) of the Kalacuri dynasty of Tripurī. Since, Yayāti I was a contemporary of Yuvarāja I, it will be proper to identify Śankaragaṇa, father of Yuvarāja I, to be a contemporary of Janamejaya I, father of Yayāti I. Śankaragaṇa (*circa* A.D. 880-910) is said to have conquered a place called Pāli from the rulers of the Kosala. According to some scholars[55] it was probably this defeat at the hands of the Kalacuri king, which drove away the Somavaṁśīs from the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh to the Sonepur-Sambalpur tract of Western Orissa. Probably for this reason the first verse[56] of the short supplement of the Patna Museum Plates rightly states that *Svabhāvatuṅga* became king by his own merit and carved out a kingdom by his own valour.

It is thus clear that Janamejaya I and Yayāti I were ruling over the eastern part of Kosala while Śaṅkaragaṇa and Yuvarāja I were contemporaneously ruling from Tripurī. Since scholars[57] roughly ascribe *circa* A.D. 880 to 910 and *circa* A.D. 915 to 945 to Śaṅkaragaṇa and Yuvarāja I, respectively, we can safely presume that Janamejaya I and Yayāti I were respectively ruling about the same period.

The Baud Plates[58] of Pṛthvi Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Utkala or coastal Orissa state that she was the daughter of the king *Svabhāvatuṅga*, the lord of Kosala, who belonged to the family of the Moon. The relevant verse in the copper plate reads as follows :

Śītāṁśuvaṁśa = nalina=Śrīvikāśa-ika bhāsyataḥ Rājñaḥ=Svabhāvatuṅgasya
Kosalādhipateḥ sutā (/)
Sutāyāṁ Śrīyasovṛdher=yasovṛdhi=vidhāyini—Śrīmān=Nṛtta—mahādevyāṁ
Kṛtajanma=parigrahā (//)[59]

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription[60] of the time of Udyotakeśarī credits Janamejaya I with the killing of the king of Oḍra with a *Kunta*. K.C. Panigrahi, who identifies *Svabhāvatuṅga* with Janamejaya I, states that he was the father of the Bhauma queen Pṛthvīmahādevī, as revealed by the Baud Plates. According to Panigrahi, Janamejaya I intervened in the family affairs of the Bhauma-Karas in the succession dispute on her daughters' behalf and killed Śivakaradeva III[61], the Bhauma-Kara king ruling over Oḍra (Orissa), and placed his daughter on the Bhauma throne. The Baud Plates are dated in the 158th year of an unspecified era which is now known as the Bhauma era. The initial year of this era has been fixed as A.D. 736[62]. Since 158th year of this era falls in A.D. 894, then Janamejaya I must have helped his daughter in securing the Bhauma-Kara throne some time before A.D. 894. It would, thus, seem that Janamejaya I must have come to power well before A.D. 894. It also suggests that he was ruling over Kosala in about A.D. 894.

D.C. Sircar, who has identified *Svabhāvatuṅga* with Yayāti I, on the other hand suggests that the Bhuma era started from A.D. 831[63]. Accordingly he states that the date of the Baud Plate corresponds to A.D. 989 and that it falls during the reign period of Yayāti I. He, also, suggests that Yayāti I helped his daughter Pṛthvīmahādevī in securing the Bhauma-Kara throne.

D.C. Sircar's view seems untenable for the following reasons. Sircar[64] assigns *circa* A.D. 970-1000 to Yayāti I and *circa* A.D. 1000-1015 to Bhīmaratha[65]. Since we now know that Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, son and successor of Bhīmaratha, had issued a copper plate charter in his 11th regnal year[66], Dharmaratha must have, therefore, been ruling, according to Sircar's chronology in A.D. 1015+11=A.D. 1026. We also know from the Banpur Copper Plates[67] of Indraratha that Dharmaratha was succeeded by him.

As stated earlier, Rājendra Cola's general had invaded Orissa some time before A.D. 1021 and captured Indraratha, the king of Orissa in a battle at Yayātinagara. If Indraratha, successor of Dharmaratha, was ruling some time before A.D. 1021, Dharmaratha could not have been ruling in A.D. 1026, the suggested date of Sircar. Hence the identification of *Svabhāvatuṅga* with Yayāti I (*circa* A.D. 970-1000) as suggested by D.C. Sircar and followed by other scholars is not acceptable and the commencement of the Bhauma era from A.D. 831, as fixed by Sircar on the basis of the above identification, is also not tenable.

Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I had issued the Cuttack Plates[68] in his 9th regnal year, wherein it is stated that he donated a village Cāndagrāma in the Marada *viṣaya* of *Dakṣiṇa* Tosali to a Brahmin named Samkhapani. The village Cāndagrāma[69] has been identified with modern Chandagaon near Cuttack. This would indicate that Yayāti I had, by his 9th regnal year, occupied the coastal Orissa after ousting the last Bhauma-Kara ruler. K.C. Panigrahi[70] has suggested that the 9th regnal year of Yayāti I should correspond to A.D. 931. He assumed that the Bhauma-Kara rule in Orissa ended in about 195 Bhauma *Saṁvat*, about eight years after the issue of the Kumuraṅga Plates[71] of Daṇḍimahādevī, recording the Bhauma year 187. But in the light of the recently discovered grant of Vakula Mahādevī[71a], dated in the Bhauma *Saṁvat* 204 or A.D. 940, and the Orissa State Museum Plates[72] of Mahāśivagupta Yayātı I, issued in his 4th regnal year, the presumption of Panigrahi that the Bhauma rule in Orissa ended in about A.D. 931 has now becomes untenable. The charter of Yayāti I records the donation of a part of the village Kuḍukulo, mentioned in the inscription as Kuḍukulo-*Khaṇḍa*[73] *ksetra,* located in the district of Gaṇḍitama in Oḍra country. This grant is then the first official record of the Somavaṁśa recording a land grant in Oḍra, which as shown earlier[74], denoted the coastal Orissa during this time. The grant of Vakulamahādevī dated in the Bhauma year 204, records land grant in north Tosala and refers to Guhadevapāṭaka as the place of issue.

By the end of the ninth century A.D. the Bhauma-Kara power in the Utkala country or coastal Orissa was in decline. The last four rulers who sat on the Bhauma-Kara throne were all female members of the family. Among them Daṇḍimahādevī was the most powerful and ruled over both the Tosalīs. She had issued six charters during her reign[75]. Five of her charters record land grants in south Tosala, comprising the present Ganjam, Puri and Cuttack districts, south of Mahānadī river in Orissa. The unpublished Arual Plate records land grants in north Tosala. The inscriptions of the last two rulers of this dynasty *viz.* Vakulamahādevī and Dharmmamahādevī do not record land grants in south Tosala.

This would lead us to believe that they had lost south Tosala territory to the Somavaṁśī kings some time after the rule of Daṇḍimahādevī. Since the Orissa State Museum Plates of Yayāti I was the earliest Somavaṁśī charter recording land grant in Oḍra, the territory earlier known as south Tosala, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I was the first Somavaṁśī king who occupied this territory from the Bhauma-Karas. This incident must have occured before his 4th regnal year, which is not far removed from A.D. 923 or 187 Bhauma-*Saṁvat*, the latest date recorded in the Kumuraṅga Plate of Daṇḍimahādevī[76]. The Kalibhana Grant of Janamejaya I records the latest regnal year as 34. Since it is probable that he had ruled for some more time we can assign him a total reign period of 40 years. Assuming that he started his rule in about A.D. 885 his rule must have ended in A.D. 925. Accordingly the fourth regnal year of Yayāti I, son of Janamejaya I, should correspond to A.D. 929. As shown above Yayāti I must have occupied south Tosala, which he refers to as Oḍra in his records, some time in between A.D. 925 to 929. But it is not before A.D. 945 that he was able to occupy the north Tosala, putting an end to the Bhauma-Kara rule[77]. This is evident from our above argument and our further discussion later. This helps us as a corroborative factor in our new chronology of the Somavaṁśa of Orissa.

The Khandapara Copper Plate Charter of Dharmaratha[78] reveals some new historical facts. In this charter Dharmaratha is credited with the conquest of Āndhra and Gauḍa. It has been suggested[79] that Dharmaratha's adversary in Gauḍa must have been either Vigrahapāla II or Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. A.M. Shastri[80] suggests that Dharmaratha probably attacked Āndhra when there was a rivalry between the Eastern Cālukyan king, Rājarāja and his half brother Vijayāditya. These two kings were no doubt indentical with Rājarāja I and Vijayāditya VII, sons and grand sons of Vimaladitya and Dānārṇava, respectively[81].

Actually the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar faced a hard time immediately before and after the rule of Mahipāla I (*circa* A.D. 988-1038)[82], who revived the lost prestige of the Pāla kingdom. Mahipāla's reign period covers A.D. 1021 by which time Rājendra Cola had invaded Orissa and Bengal. As discussed earlier Dharmaratha was not ruling in Orissa when Rājendra Cola's northern expedition took place. Hence it would not be proper to identify Nayapāla, son of Mahipāla I, as the adversary of Dharmaratha. Most likely it was during the reign of Vigrahapāla II, father of Mahipāla I, some time before A.D. 988, Dharmaratha attacked the Gauḍa country. This would suggest that Dharmaratha started his rule well before A.D. 988.

In the Āndhra county, too, the Cālukya kings of Veṅgi were passing through a bad time. Probably there was a civil war which continued for twenty-seven years. The inscriptions, of the descendants of Dānārṇava record that after Dānārṇava through the evil action of fate, the country of Veṅgi was without a ruler for twenty-seven years (*circa* A.D. 973-993) after which the glorious Śaktivarman, son of Dānārṇava defeated the enemies and became king[83]. Probably some time during this period of twentv-seven years, Dharmaratha attacked Veṅgi. As such his attack on Āndhra should be placed before *circa* A.D. 999. Thus the suggestion of A.M. Shastri cannot be accepted, because Rājarāja I succeeded his father Vimalāditya in A.D. 1018[84]. The conflict between Rājarāja and his half brother Vijayāditya started only after A.D. 1018 by which time Indraratha had succeeded his brother Dharmaratha in Orissan throne. From the above discussion we can assign the reign of Dharmaratha to the last quarter of the tenth century A.D.

As stated already, we know from the Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Cola that in course of his expedition to the Ganges he had captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the Moon together with his family in a fight, which took place at Ādinagar[85]*. The Tirumalai Inscription is dated in the twelfth regnal year of

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*Ādinagar of Tirumalai inscription is a Tamil corruption of the word Yayātinagar which is clearly referred to in several other inscriptions of Rājendra Cola. The word has been variously read in the inscriptions of the Cola king as Ādinagara, Āyatināgara, Yādinagara, Yātinagara and Yayātinagara. Ādinagara or Yayātinagara was the capital city of the Somavaṁśi kings since the reign of Yayāti I, which was obviously named after him. K.C. Panigrahi, *A.R.B.*, p. 46.

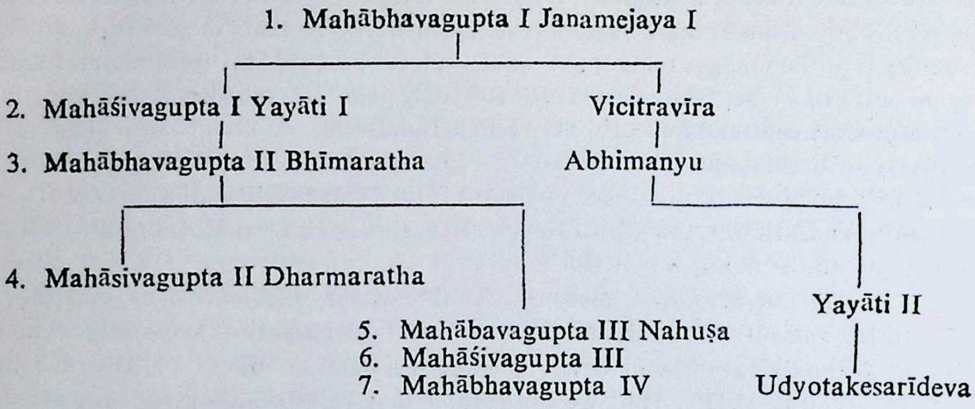
Rājendra Cola which corresponds to A.D. 1023. This event is also recorded in some unpublished Tanjore Inscriptions of his tenth[86] regnal year corresponding to A.D. 1021. But Rājendra's exploits during his Ganges expedition were not recorded in the inscription of his seventh regnal year[87], which corresponds to A.D. 1018. So this expedition to the Ganges must have taken place between his seventh and tenth regnal years or in between A.D. 1018 to 1021. Thus it can be safely said that Rājendra Cola captured and probably killed Indraratha in about A.D. 1020. The discovery of the Banpur Copper Plates[88] of Indraratha clears all doubts, hitherto raised by scholars, regarding the reading of the name Indraratha in the Tamil inscriptions and Indraratha's historiocity. Hence, it is clear that Indraratha's rule came to an end in about A.D. 1020.

The Udepur *Praśasti*[89], also, records the victory of Bhoja over one Indraratha of the ancient race of the Moon. Scholars[90] identify this Indraratha with a member of the Somavaṁśa of Orissa. The known dates of Bhoja of Dhāra range from A.D. 1020 to 1041[91]. Thus we can assume that Indraratha of the Somavaṁśa was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhoja, during his early days, and that Indraratha suffered a defeat at the hands of the Paramāra king some time during the period from *circa* A.D. 1010 to 1020.

The next date that we get for the chronology of the Somavaṁśa, is one from the inscription of the time of Udyotakeśarī, found engraved in the Lalāṭeṇḍu Keśarī Gumphā[92] (cave) of the Khandagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. As mentioned earlier, this inscription is recorded in an unspecified era and records the numerals as 549. It has been suggested[93] that this date is recorded in the Gaṅga era and would correspond to A.D. 1045. As shown earlier, this year cannot be referred to the *Vikrama* of *Śaka* era, because in that case the date of this inscription would be absurdly early. It cannot also be referred to the Bhauma era of A.D. 736, because, in that case, the date would be A.D. 1285 falling in the period of the supremacy of the Gaṅgas, but the inscription refers to Udyotakeśarī of the Somavaṁśa. In view of these considerations the year 549 can only be referred to the Gaṅga era. The widely accepted view for the initial year of the Gaṅga era is A.D. 498[93a] and accordingly the year A.D. 1047 would, thus, fall during the reign period of Mahābhavagupta Udyotakeśarī.

The Liṅgarāja temple inscription[94] of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva, dated in the year A.D. 1114 suggests the end of Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa by A.D. 1114. Mahāśivagupta Karṇṇadeva was the last ruler of the Somavaṁśa. The *Rāmacarita*[95] by Sandhyākaranandi, also, states that Karṇṇakeśarī, the king of Utkala, was defeated by a general of Rāmapāla, the king of Gauḍa. Rāmapāla was thus a contemporary of Karṇṇadeva of the Somavaṁśa of Orissa. From these references it can be said that Karṇṇadeva, who was probably a weak ruler, was a pawn in the political game of the Pālas in the north and the Gaṅgas in the south and that the Gaṅgas finally won the game. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva put an end to the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa about A.D. 1012-13, shortly before he issued his Liṅgarāja temple inscription.

The Narasimhapur Charter[96] and the Brahameśvara temple inscription[97] give the complete genealogy of the Somavaṁśa from Janamejaya I to Udyotakeśarī, which can be shown as follows:

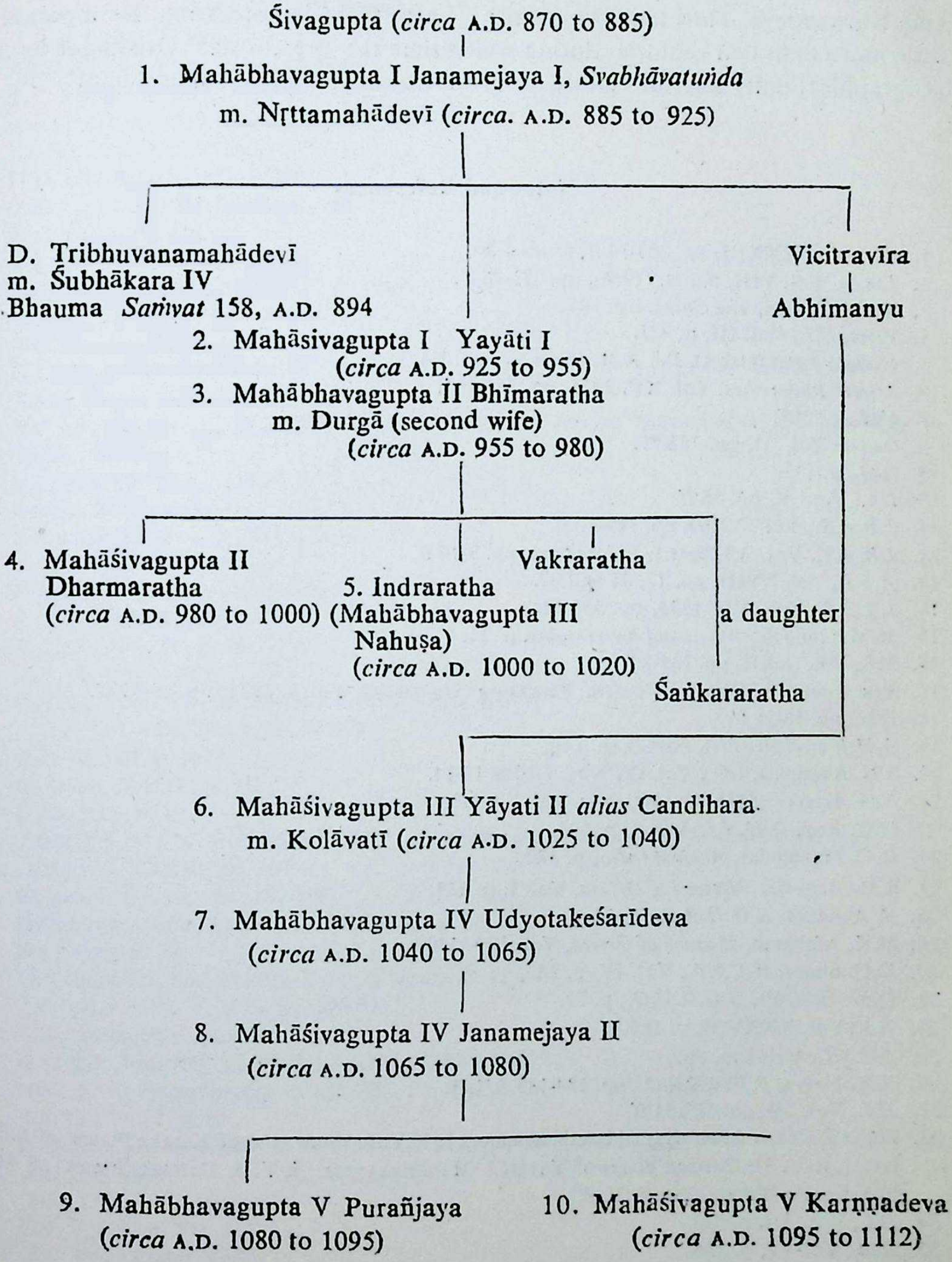

1. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya I
2. Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti I
Vicitravīra
3. Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha
Abhimanyu
4. Mahāsivagupta II Dharmaratha
Yayāti II
5. Mahābavagupta III Nahuṣa
6. Mahāśivagupta III
7. Mahābhavagupta IV
Udyotakesarīdeva

From the above genealogy it seems that Nahuṣa succeeded his brother Dharmaratha in the Somavaṁśī throne. But not a single inscription of Nahuṣa has been discovered so far. Only the official records of the Somavaṁśa[98], refer to the rule of Nahuṣa. But surprisingly the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, an unofficial record of Kolāvatī, mother of Udyotakeśarī, does not refer to the rule of Nahuṣa. Instead it describes that after the death of Dharmaratha (Rājamalla in the inscription) without an heir his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries and there was a lapse of short and eventless time. Then Caṇḍihara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vicitravīra was anointed king by the ministers[99]. These conflicting evidences make it a problem to fix the place of Nahuṣa in the Somavaṁśī chronology. The discovery of the Banpur Charter helps us in solving this problem to some extent. From the evidences furnished in this record we know that Indraratha was a son of Bhīmaratha through her second queen Durgā. It is also described in the record that he got the fortune of the Kaliṅga country by the favour of his brother Dharmaratha. Besides, Indraratha is said to have defeated and killed one Abhimanyu who had occupied the Kosala country[100]. We will discuss later[101], at length, on the internal evidences furnished by the Banpur Charter, based on our re-interpretation of certain verses of the text, which would clear doubts about the successor of Dharmaratha in the Somavaṁśī chronology.

Another factor which raises doubt about the historiocity of Nahuṣa is that not a single record of Rājendra Cola and the Udepur *Praśasti* contain any reference to the rule of Nahuṣa in Orissa during the time. They refer only to Indraratha as the master of Orissa. Thus both the internal and external evidences, with the exception to the official records of the later members of the family, do not refer to Nahuṣa in any manner.

In view of the above it becomes difficult for us to assign an independent place to Nahuṣa in our chronology. Instead, as our later discussions would prove, we are tempted to identify Nahuṣa with Indraratha.

Taking into account all the above facts and the last regnal years of each of the Somavaṁśī kings, as recorded in their own copper plate grants and other inscriptions of their time we give the following genealogical table in which the chronological position of each king is given in the order of his succession and their suggested reign periods are given within brackets :


Śivagupta (*circa* A.D. 870 to 885)
1. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya I, *Svabhāvatuṅda*
m. Nṛttamahādevī (*circa*. A.D. 885 to 925)
D. Tribhuvanamahādevī
m. Śubhākara IV
Bhauma *Saṁvat* 158, A.D. 894
Vicitravīra
Abhimanyu
2. Mahāsivagupta I Yayāti I
(*circa* A.D. 925 to 955)
3. Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha
m. Durgā (second wife)
(*circa* A.D. 955 to 980)
4. Mahāśivagupta II
Dharmaratha
(*circa* A.D. 980 to 1000)
5. Indraratha
(Mahābhavagupta III
Nahuṣa)
(*circa* A.D. 1000 to 1020)
Vakraratha
a daughter
Śaṅkararatha
6. Mahāśivagupta III Yāyati II *alias* Candihara
m. Kolāvatī (*circa* A.D. 1025 to 1040)
7. Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakeśarīdeva
(*circa* A.D. 1040 to 1065)
8. Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya II
(*circa* A.D. 1065 to 1080)
9. Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya
(*circa* A.D. 1080 to 1095)
10. Mahāśivagupta V Karṇṇadeva
(*circa* A.D. 1095 to 1112)

The Somavaṁśīs came to power with the rise of Janamejaya I as king in Bolangir-Sonepur area of the present Orissa. He founded the Somavaṁśa rule in the last part of the ninth century A.D. This Somavaṁśa rule in Orissa continued till the end of the first decade of the twelfth century A.D. when the imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva occupied Orissa after ousting the last Somavaṁśī king Karṇṇadeva. Thus ten kings of the dynasty ruled in succession for a period of little more than two centuries during which time the present day Orissa got its first geographical unity and the culture of Oriyas began to take a definite shape.

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62. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 208 ff.
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5

POLITICAL HISTORY

1. The Rise and Growth of the Somavaṁśa Power

With the advent of the Somavaṁśīs in the political scene of Orissa about the second half of the ninth century A. D. a new chapter was added to the history of Orissa. We have seen earlier that the Somavaṁśī king of Orissa and the Pāṇḍu vaṁśa of Kosala belonged to the same family of 'Moon'. As discussed earlier[1] the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were ousted by the later members of the Nala dynasty of Bastar-Koraput region and the Bāṇa kings from the south west and north Kosala, respectively. Most probably the members of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa took shelter in the eastern region of Kosala comprising the Sambalpur-Sonepur region in Orissa after being driven away from their original seat of power at Śrīpura or modern Sirpur in the Raipur district of M. P.

It is likely that the dynasty had to remain in their new territory as a feudatory power or even as local chiefs for a long time. As such we do not find any records during the period—between the fall of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa and the rise of the Somavaṁśa. But it is creditable on the part of this family of the Moon that after remaining in a subdued state for about two centuries they reasserted[2] themselves in the area around modern Sonepur in the Bolangir district of Orissa and came to be known as the Somavaṁśa.

Śivagupta (*circa A.D. 870-885*):—Śivagupta was probably the first member of the dynasty in Orissa. So far not a single inscription of Śivagupta has come to light. We know about him only from the inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I. In these inscriptions Śivagupta is described as the single predecessor of Janamejaya I. The Nagpur Museum charter[3] of Janamejaya I, issued in his 8th regnal year, is the only inscription wherein the predecessor of Janamejaya I has been described as Mahāśivagupta. This single occurance of the word Mahāśivagupta has led some scholars[4] to identify him with Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa. We have already stated that[5] Śivagupta of Janamejaya I's inscriptions was far removed in time from Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna.

The inscriptions of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I do not reveal the relationship between him and his predecessor Śivagupta. The absence of any reference to Śivagupta in the records of the later members of this dynasty from Yayāti I onwards indicates that Janamejaya I and not Śivagupta was the real founder of the dynasty in Orissa[6].

The Kalacuris of Ḍāhala rose into prominence in Kosala under the leadership of Kokalla I. Śankaragaṇa son and successor of Kokālla I is described to have defeated one '*Kosalendra*' or lord of Kosala and wrested Pāli from him.[7] This Pāli has been identified with a village of same name, situated 12 miles to the North-east of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district.[8] H.C. Ray identifies *Kosalendra* with Śivagupta of the Somavaṁśī dynasty who, according to him, flourished round about circa A.D. 950.[9] In support of his identification he says that both the Paṇḍuvaṁśī kings of Kosala and the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa called themselves 'Lords of Kosala'. D.C. Sircar[10] also accepts the above view. Since the Bānas were already in possession of the territory around Pāli by *circa* A.D. 875[11], it is unlikely that Śivagupta would have been ruling over the same territory at the time of Śankaraganas invasion. To us it appears that *Kosalendra* of the Bilhari stone inscription was not Śivagupta, as suggested by the above scholars. Instead, as pointed out by V.V. Mirashi,[12] he should be identified with the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I (*circa* A.D. 870 to 895), whose inscription is found at the same place, Pāli. Besides, the inscriptions of Janamejaya I never refer Śivagupta as *Kosalendra*. Even Janamejaya I, as we shall see below, had assumed the title of *Kosalendra* only in his 31st regnal year.[13]

Śivagupta or Mahāśivagupta and Mahabhavagupta, as seen earlier,[14] were the *Virudas* or coronation names borne by alternate kings of this dynasty. Hence we can presume that Śivagupta started his career much before *circa* A.D. 885, the date assigned to Janamejaya I by us.[15] But we have no evidence of Śivagupta's reign period. Since it would have taken some time for him to prepare the ground for Janamejaya I to establish the Somavaṁśa power in Sambalpur-Sonepur area we may assign him an active period of fifteen years before Janamejaya I. Thus we place him in between *circa* A.D. 870 to 885. From the above we can safely say that Śivagupta was probably a petty chief first. But later he assumed sovereign status as evident from the imperial epithets of *Mahārāja* and *Mahārājādhirāja* given to him in some of the inscriptions on Janamejaya I[16].

As stated above the Bāṇa kingdom in Kosala was destroyed by the Kalacuri invasion. Probably, as an aftermath of this, there prevailed an uncertain condition in Kosala. This might have inspired Śivagupta, in the last part of his career, to assume sovereign status. Fleet[17] suggests that Śivagupta, having been at first only a feudatory prince of Kosala like Tīvaradeva, subsequently became powerful enough to seize the paramount sovereignty of that country and perhaps also of the Kaliṅga country. S.R. Nema[18] on the other hand explains that there is no evidence to ascribe the conquest of Kaliṅga country to Śivagupta. According to him Śivagupta was probably master of Sambalpur and the old native States of Patna and Sonepur as known from the copper plate grants of his son and successor Janamejaya I. Further, he describes Śivagupta as the founder of this dynasty in Orissa from the royal titles attributed to Śivagupta in the charters of Janamejaya I. Both Fleet and Nema do not seem to be right in assigning such large territories to Śivagupta and describing him as the founder of the dynasty. It will be clear from our arguments given below that Śivagupta was never the founder of the dynasty in Orissa.

Śivagupta started his career in the Sonepur region of Bolangir district in about

A.D. 870. He only prepared the ground for the growth of the Somavaṁśa power and left the task to his successor Janamejaya I. Except these we do not know much about Śivagupta.

Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I (circa A.D. 885-925):—Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I succeeded Śivagupta to the Somavaṁśī throne. So far twelve copper plate grants[19] of this king have been discovered. The earliest among these, the Vakartentali[20] Grant was issued in his third regnal year while the last one, the Kalibhana Grant[21], was recorded in his 34th regnal year. As such we can assign him a probable reign period of 40 years, assuming that he ruled for some more time after his 34th regnal year. For constructing the political career of Janamejaya I we have to rely only on the inscriptions issued by him and his successors. Unfortunately his inscriptions do not reveal much about his relation with the contemporary rulers of the neighbouring territories. But fresh interpretation of some facts given in his inscriptions and the records of some contemporary families such as the Bhauma-Karas and the Bhañjas of Khiñjali-*maṇḍala* would help us a lot in building a true picture of the man, his career and achievements.

D.C. Sircar[22] and following him most of the scholars[23] writing on the history of the Somavaṁśa describe Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I as the son of Śivagupta, referred to in the inscriptions of the former. B. Misra thinks that Janamejaya was son of Raṇakeśarī[24]. It is astonishing as to how the learned editors of the Kalibhana Grants, D.C. Sircar and P.C. Rath, read the text describing Janamejaya I as son of Śivagupta when there is no such reference at all in the aforesaid grants and for that matter in any other grant of Janamejaya I, which convey such a meaning. K.C. Panigrahi[25] has rightly suggested that Janamejaya I was probably a scion of the family because the grants are not clear in describing the relation between Śivagupta and Janamejaya I; Śivagupta is not referred to in any of the records of the later members of the dynasty except Janamejaya; Śivagupta was a *viruḍa* of the Somavaṁśīs and not a personal name; had Śivagupta been his father Janamejaya would have definitely recorded his name in his inscriptions; a similar instance is found in the copper plate grant of Yayāti-II wherein he has described Mahābhavagupta, a *viruḍa* but not a real name, as his single predecessor since Yayāti II belonged to the collateral branch of the dynasty. These arguments, advanced by the above scholar will disprove the theory that Janamejaya I was the son of Śivagupta. As such we can say that Janamejaya I, who was a member of the family, succeeded Śivagupta to the Somavaṁśī throne.

Some scholars[26], as seen above, consider Śivagupta as the founder of the dynasty. But a look into the eulogical-cum-genealogical portion of the inscriptions of Janamejaya I refutes this view. The relevant portion in the inscriptions reads "*Paramabhattāraka-Mahārāja*[27] (or *Mahārājāḍhirāja*) *Parameśvara Śrī Śivagupta—Pāḍanuḍhyāta—Paramabhattāraka—Mahārājādhirāja—Somakulatilaka—Trikaliṅgāḍhipati—Parameśvara—Śrī Mahābhavaguptarājāḍevah Kuśalī*". The epithet *Somākulatilaka*, ascribed only to Janamejaya I, clearly indicated that he was the ornament of the Somavaṁśa[28] or best among the Somavaṁśa,[29] being the founder of the real greatness of the family. Janamejaya I was the first member of the dynasty, naturally, to have this epithet.

On the other hand, as pointed out by P. Acharya,[30] specific mention has been made in the inscriptions[31] of the year 4, 24 and 28 of Yayāti I—the year 3 of Bhīmaratha, years 4 and 18 of Udyotakeśari and year 6 of Karnnadeva that Janamejaya I was the founder of the family. Besides, in the short supplement of three verses given at the and of Yayāti I's Patna Museum plates[32], issued in his 8th regnal year, we see that *Svabhayātunga*, identified with Janamejaya[33] I, is described to have become king by his own efforts. This lends further support to the view that Janamejaya I was the real founder of the dynasty and its greatness in Orissa.

Nema's suggestion above that Śivagupta ruled over the area comprising the present Sambalpur district and old states of Patna and Sonepur is untenable. He assumes that since the inscriptions of Janamejaya I show that he was the master of the above area, his predecessor Śivagupta would have been also ruling over the same area. But since no inscriptions of Śivagupta is available and Janamejaya I's inscriptions do not refer specifically to such a thing we are not inclined to accept his theory. The above points would make the theory that Śivagupta was the founder of the dynasty in Orissa untenable. It was Janamejaya I who was the real founder of the dynasty.

Next we consider the epithet of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, assumed for the first time by Janamejaya I. This was not merely an honorific title as suggested by some scholars.[34] It has to be considered in another light. As seen earlier[35] the Sonepur-Bolangir region was included in the Trikaliṅga territory. Janamejaya's earliest charter was issued from Suvarṇapura or modern Sonepur town in Bolangir district. Besides, the donated village Vakratentali[36] of Lupattāra-*Khaṇḍa* and the place of residence of the donee, Meraṇḍā, have been identified in Sonepur-Bolangir region. This would suggest that Janamejaya I established his position first by bringing this area under his control. It is pertinent to note here that the mention of "*Sva-bhuj=oparjita—Trikaliṅgadhipatiḥ*" in the Maranjamura Copper Plate[37] Grant of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II led some scholars[38] to believe that he was the first person to bring Trikalinga territory under the Somavaṁśī control. But discussions given below would prove that the above reference was used in a different context in the grant of Yayāti II.

Since no adversary is referred to by Janamejaya I in his inscription, whom he might have encountered while bringing the portion of Trikaliṅga under his control, we have to rely on contemporaneous evidences from the records of other dynasties. From the inscriptions of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali *maṇḍala* we know that they were a feudatory power under the Bhauma-Karas.[39] Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa, the second ruler of this family, had the title *Rāṇka*[40]. His son and successor Raṇabhañja, who had a long reign of nearly sixty years, had the same title of *Rāṇaka* upto his 26th[41] regnal year. Both Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja, upto his 26th regnal year, were described as '*Ubhaya Khiñjalyādhipati*'[42] in their respective records. But the next copper plate grant of Ranabhañja, in chronological order, was issued in his 54th[43] regnal year. In this record he has been described only as the lord of Khiñjali *maṇḍala* and as *Mahārāja*. The Baud undated grant[44] of the same ruler describe him as *Rāṇaka* and lord of Khiñjali *maṇḍala* and as such must precede the Baud Grant of 54th regnal year. This would indicate that long before his 54th regnal year Raṇabhañja had lost the control of a portion of his territory. '*Ubhaya*

Khiñjali maṇḍala' had been identified by some scholars[45] with the regions on the northern and southern banks of the Mahānadī and its immediate neighbourhood. More precisely the two Khiñjalis comprised of the present Sonepur, Baud and Dasapalla regions of Orissa[46], because the copper plate grants of the above kings were found from the above regions and the donated villages as recorded in the grants have been identified with places located in the same regions.

From the above it would be clear that Śivagupta and Janamejaya I came into conflict with the Bhanja kings, particularly Ranabhañja, who had a long reign period during the middle part of his career. In this conflict it is evident that Śivagupta was not successful but Janamejaya I eventually came out successful and wrested a part of the Bhañja territory from him. Thus the Sonepur region, which was included in the Bhañja kingdom as one of the Khinjalis, came under the Somavaṁśī control. This event must have taken place some time before the third regnal year or Janamejaya I and 54th regual year of Raṇabhañja and as such the above dates are not far removed in time from each other. The acquisition of the Sonepur region thus made Janamejaya I the first holder of the epithet *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.

Another Baud Grant[47] of Raṇabhañja, recorded in his 58th regnal year, records that Oḍra *viṣaya* was included in his kingdom. It seems that after losing a portion of his kingdom in the west (Sonepur region) to Janamejaya I by *circa*. A.D. 888 Ranabhañja occupied a portion of the Oḍra country in the east. This acquisition of a portion of Oḍra must have been at the expense of the Bhauma-Karas who were masters of Oḍra. As stated above, his charter of 54th regnal year refers him as *Mahārāja*, an independent sovereign title when compared with his earlier title of *Rāṇaka*. This would indicate that Raṇabhañja had declared himself independent by his 54th regnal year and by his 58th regnal year he was bold enough to seize a portion of Bhauma-Kara territory and annexed it to his kingdom in the east. This must have oççured during the reign of either Śubhākaradeva IV, the son-in-law of Janamejaya I, or his brother Śivakaradeva III, whose known date is Bhauma *Samvat* 149 or A.D. 885.[48] It appears to be more certain during the reign of the latter.

This probably resulted in the retaliatory action by the Bhauma-Karas, under Śivakaradeva III. As a result of which the Bhañjas were driven from Khiñjali *maṇḍala* (Baud & Dasapalla regions) to the south to the hilly regions of the Ganjam district (Ghumsar area). This is evident from the inscriptions of the Bhañja kings. After Raṇabhañja, no king of the family seems to have issued their charters from Dhṛtipura, their capital in Khiñjali *maṇḍala*. Instead the charters of the later members have been issued from *Vijaya* Vañjulavaka.[49] Besides, the use of Bhauma *Samvat*[50] in the copper plates of some members of this dynasty and definitely in the inscriptions of Śatrubhañja III *alias* Tribhuvanakalas II[51] and the inferior titles of *Rāṇaka* assumed again by some members of this dynasty would point to the fact that after being defeated and chastised by the Bhauma-Karas they remained loyal and recognised the Bhauma-Karas once again as their overlords. Even they established matrimonial relationship with the Bhauma-Karas as is evident from the charter of Vakulamahādevī.[52]

Hence, it is not the Somavaṁśī kings but the Bhauma-Karas, who were responsible for driving out the Bhañjas from the Baud area which event took place probably in about A.D. 892. It is just possible that Ranabhañja after losing the Sonepur region made some sort of peace with Janamejaya I after which he assumed independence and became bold enough to snatch a district from the Bhauma-Kara empire and merged it with his kingdom.

If Janamejaya I, as suggested above, agreed to any peace with Ranabhañja it was not for any other purpose. His ulterior motive was to instal his daughter on the Bhauma-Kara throne. This is evident from the copper plate charters of his daughter. Besides, the inscriptions[53] of Janamejaya I, issued after his third regnal year reveal that he was busy with his western frontier consolidating and enlarging his kingdom in an area comprising of the present Bolangir district of Orissa.

The Baud Plates[54] of Pṛthvīmahādevī II describe her as daughter of *Svabhāvatuṅga* of the Somavaṁśa. As stated earlier[55] *Svabhāvatuṅga* has been identified with Janamejaya I. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription credits Janamejaya I with the killing of a king of Oḍra with a *kunta* (sharp pointed weapon). Panigrahi identifies[56] this Oḍra king Śivakaradeva III, brother of Śubhākaradeva IV and brother-in-law of Pṛthvīmahādevī, of the Bhauma-kara dynasty.

After the death of Śubhākaradeva IV, who was childless, the succession passed to his brother Śivakaradeva III. At this stage Pṛthvīmahādevī, probably, contrived with her father in securing the Bhauma-Kara throne and as a result Śivakaradeva III, referred to in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription as the king of Oḍra, was killed by Janamejaya I, perhaps in a battle. In her Baud plates Pṛthvīmahādevī deliberately conceals the truth while saying that she succeeded to the Bhauma throne when her husband and brother-in-law died childless. But we know from the later records of the Bhauma-Karas that Śivakaradeva had two sons. This and the fact that Pṛthvīmahādevī's name is omitted from the genealogical list given in later Bhauma-Kara records suggest the plot made by Pṛthvīmahādevī and the support she got for it from her father Janamejaya I.

Panigrahi[57] is right in saying that the official charters of the Somavaṁśī kings do not refer to this incident as it was not considered as a laudable act on the part of Janamejaya I to have killed the brother-in-law of his daughter. The unofficial Brahmeśvara inscription with its relative freedom and long interval of time refers to this incidence in an indirect manner.

The known dates of Śubhākaradeva IV, Śivakaradeva III and Pṛthvīmahādevī are A.D. 881, 885 and 894, respectively. Thus the invasion of Oḍra and killing of its king must have taken place just before A.D. 894 the date of issue of the Baud charters of Pṛthvīmahādevī.

It is necessary to point here the suggestion made by some scholars[58] that the Oḍra king of Brahmeśvara inscription should be identified with the Bhañja king Raṇabhañja. In support of their theory they cite the 58th[59] regnal year plates of Ranabhañja and the 9th regnal year plates[60] of Yayāti I. In the former charter Ranabhañja was described to be in control of Oḍra *Viṣaya* while in the latter charter the donee is described to have hailed from Śilābhañjapāṭi in Oḍra *deśa*, obviously named after Śilābhañja[61] I, the first ruler of the Bhañja dynasty. Some other scholars[62] even cite Yayāti I's 15th regnal year charter and say that Gandhaṭapāṭi, named after Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa, and identified with modern Gandharadi near Baud, was located in the same area as Śilābhañjapāṭi. They forget clearly to see in the same grant that Gandhaṭapāṭi was included in the Kosala country.[63]

As stated above by *circa* A.D. 892 the Bhañjas, after Raṇabhañja's death, have been driven away from the Baud territory. Thus the Oḍra king of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription could never have been Raṇabhañja or any other member of the Bhañja family of Khiñjali maṇḍala. The invasion of Oḍra by Janamejaya I was of a temporary nature, which was only to assist his daughter, and Janamejaya I never annexed any part of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom. This is evident from his grants which do not record any donation of lands in the coastal Orissa as well as the Baud area. Besides, Daṇḍimahādevī of the Bhauma-Kara family had a number of charters to her credit[64], some of which record land grants in south Tosala. This would indicate that during her reign the Bhauma kingdom remained intact[65].

Most probably soon after A.D. 894 Janamejaya I had to divert his attention to the western border of his kingdom. After his intervention in the Bhauma-Kara succession on behalf of his daughter and the removal of the Bhañja supremacy over Baud area, he would have felt secure in the east and enlarged his kingdom in the west gradually. By his 31st regnal year his kingdom embraced the present Sambalpur, Kalahandi and Bolangir districts and he proudly assumed the title of *Kosalendra*[66]. As already stated he exploited the uncertain conditions that prevailed in Kosala after the destruction of the Bāṇa kingdom by the Kalacuris. In course of his expansion in the west he must have clashed with the Kalacuri power.

Janamejaya's conflict with the Kalacuris is known to us from the copper plate grants[67] of his son Yayāti I, issued in his eighth regnal year. The above grant, in the first[68] verse of the short supplement at its end, describes that *Svabhāvatuṇga* (Janamejaya I) by dint of his manliness became king and spread the fortune of the Kosala country by defeating the Kalacuris. Janamejaya I's contemporary king of the Kalacuri family was Śaṅkaragaṇa. Janamejaya probably defeated Śaṅkaragaṇa in course of his territorial expansion in the western frontier of his kingdom. K.C. Panigrahi[69] has tried to show their rivalry by referring to the equal numbers of *Virudas* or surnames borne by both. Śaṅkaragaṇa had three surnames, *viz. Prasiddha-dhavala*, *Raṇa-Vigraha* and *Mughatuṅga*[70]. Janamejaya had also three surnames, *viz. Mahābhavagupta*, *Dharmakandarpa*[71] and *Svabhavatuṅga*. Thus the claim made in the above mentioned grant of Yayāti I is not an empty one. This conflict with the Kalacuris was a long one and continued, as we shall see below, for three generations. Janamejaya I, however, was successful in bringing the entire eastern Kosala region under his control by his 31st regnal year corresponding to A.D. 916 as evident from the title *Kosalendra* attributed to him for the first time in the Chaudwar plates[72].

That Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I was a powerful ruler is evident from the fact that he succeeded in establishing a kingdom, keeping it intact during his long reign of over thirty-five years and finally in handing it down with increased territories and sphere of influence to his successors in the face of the opposition from the powerful neighbouring kingdom of the Kalacuris. He was one of those brave sons of the ancient royal families, who had revived the almost lost and waning fortunes of their families by their own valour[73].

He made Suvarnapura or modern Sonepur town in Bolangir district of Orissa his capital. From Suvarṇapura he had issued his first[74] and last[75] copper plate grant. The rest of his grants were issued from Murasima[76] and Ārāma or Ārāmakaṭaka[77]. The different places of issue as recorded in his grants would indicate that he had a career of wars[78] and he had to move constantly from place to place consolidating and enlarging his kingdom. The recently discovered Degaon Copper Plates of Mugdhagondaladeva reveal that a Rāṣṭrakuṭa family served the Somavaṁśī king as a feudatory power. The record which can be assigned to the reign of Janamejaya I on the basis of the name of the engraver of Sangrāma son of Rāyaṇa Ojhā, who was also the engraver of Janamejaya's grants issued in his 3rd and 8th regnal years. From the above record it is further revealed that a group of feudatory powers served their overlord Janamejaya I. This Rāṣṭrakuṭa king was ruling over Parakula *maṇḍala* and donated land in the Telātaṭa *viṣaya*.

Not much is known about his personal life from his inscriptions. He has been described as a *Paramamāheśvara* and thus a Śaivite by conviction. He gave patronage to learned Brahmins and munificent grants to religious establishments[79]. It seems that Janamejaya I encouraged the migration of learned Brahmins from outside his territory and donated lands to them for their settlement inside the Somavaṁśī kingdom.

We know from his inscriptions that a Datta family had held the positions of *Kāyastha* (scribe) and *Mahāsandhivigrahi* in his court. B.C. Mazumdar refers to them as Bengali Kāyasthas[80]. But P. Acharya[81] has rightly refuted this suggestion and shown that the Dattas came not from Bengal but from Ayodhyāpurī as evident from the copper plate grant of[82] Bhīmaratha.

A local tradition ascribe Janamejaya I the credit of a *Daśāśvameḍha* or ten fold horse sacrifice at Agrahat near Chaudwar. The place is rich in antiquarian remains, which we shall discuss in another chapter. Since we do not have any other evidence to corroborate the above tradition we cannot accept the same. Janamejaya I, most probably, was involved in the building of a number of brick temples in the western Orissa. Thus Janamejaya was the real founder of the Somavaṁśa dynasty and its greatness in Orissa. After a probable reign period of 40 years he was succeeded by his son and successor Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*circā* A.D. 925-955) to the Soma vaṁśī throne.

Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*circa A.D. 925-955*):—Yayāti I was probably a middle aged man when he ascended the throne after the long reign of his father who must have died about eighty years old. Immediately after ascending the throne Yayāti I followed the policy of expansion like his father. His first task was to expand the Somavaṁśī kingdom in the east.

We have seen earliar that by the end of the ninth century A.D. the Bhauma-Kara power in the Utkala country was in decline. The last four Bhauma-Kara rulers were all female members of the family. Among them Dandimahādevī was the most powerful and controlled both the Tosalīs. She had issued[83] six charters during her reign. Out of the six charters two are yet to be published. Five of her charters record land grants in south Tosala while the unpublished Arual plate records land grants in north Tosala.[84] The latest Bhauma *Samvat* found recorded in Daṇḍimahādevī's charters[85] was year 187 corresponding to A.D. 923. The inscriptions of the last two rulers of this family, *viz*. Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī do not record land grants in south Tosala.[86] This leads us to believe that they lost the south Tosala territory to the Somavaṁśī kings. Thus Daṇḍimahādevī was the last Bhauma-Kara ruler to have control over the south Tosala.

The Orissa State Museum plates[87] of Yayāti I, issued in his 4th regnal year, would indicate that some time before his 4th regnal year, or *circa* A.D. 929 he occupied the south Tosala territory from the Bhauma-Karas. The above mentioned copper plate inscription records the donation of the village Kuḍukulo-*Khaṇḍakṣetra* in the district of Gaṇḍitama of Oḍra country to the donee Śrī Kāko, son of Madhu and grandson of Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmodara, an immigrant from the village Likhḍiya of Śrāvasti. This is the first inscription of Yayāti I to record any grant in the Oḍra country. This would then suggest that some time after A.D. 923, the last known date of Daṇḍimahādevī, and before A.D. 929, the 4th regnal year of Yayāti I, the territory of south Tosala passed into the hands of the Somavaṁśī kings from the control of Bhauma-Karas. But we do not know the circumstances under which this transfer of control took place. Most probably Yayāti I occupied south Tosala taking advantage of the weak Bhauma-Kara power after Daṇḍimahādevī, who in all probability died soon after A.D. 923.

But Yayāti I could not concentrate in this newly acquired territory for long as he had to rush to his western border to repulse the attack of the Kalacuris under Yuvarāja I. This is evident from his charters[88] issued in his 8th, 24th and 28th regnal years, the Cuttack plates of Bhīmaratha[89] and the Khandapara plates of Dharmaratha.[90] From the above inscriptions we know that Yayāti I captured 32 big elephants after defeating the protector of the elephant troop and after killing their riders with arrows and rescued the women, brought to the elephant troop obviously for the purpose of being carried away.[91] The short supplement at the end of the Patna Museum Plates[92] of Yayāti I, issued in his 8th regnal year, further informs us that *Svabhāvahtuṅga's* (Janamejaya's) son without caring a fig for the most powerful Caidya (Kalacuri) Yuvarāja burnt the Ḍāhala country, captured alongwith the soldiers, maid-servants and decorators, an elephant troop of the lord of Cedi, engaged in carrying away women and brought them to the border of his own kingdom.[93] We have shown above[94] that this Yuvarāja should be identified with Yuvarāja I and not Yuvarāja II.

From the above references found in the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī kings it would seem that the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja I had raided the Somavaṁśī territory, probably to avenge the defeat his predecessors had at the hands of Janamejaya I. This raid must have taken place in between the 4th and 8th regnal years of Yayāti I corresponding to *circa* A.D. 929 to 933. Yayāti I, who was busy in the coastal Orissa by his 4th regnal year, rose to the occasion and not only repulsed the Kalacuri attack but also completely beaten the Kalacuri army and burnt the Kalacuri capital. This would have resulted in temporary cessation of the hostility between the two powers for the time being.

After making sure that the western border of his kingdom was secure from enemy intrusion Yayāti I again turned his attention towards east to the newly acquired territory of south Tosala. This is evident from his 9th[95] regnal year charter which records the donation of the village Canda *grāma* of Maraḍā *viṣaya* in south Tosala to a donee named Śaṅkhapāṇī who was a resident of Śilābhañjapāti in Oḍra *deśa*. Some scholars[96] suggest that Yayāti I donated the said village on the occasion of his successful intervention in the Bhauma affairs and installation of his daughter Pṛthvīmahādevī on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Their suggestion is based on the identification of *Svabhāvatuṅga* with Yayāti I. Since we have already stated that *Svabhāvatuṅga* should be identified with Janamejaya I, we do not accept their above suggestion on the 9th regnal year charter of Yayāti I.

The ouster of the Bhauma-Karas from the south Tosala region after Daṇḍimahādevī, about A.D. 929 by Yayāti I led the last two members of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to shift their sphere of activities to north Tosala.[97] These last two Bhauma-Kara rulers were the proteges of the Bhañja kings, probably of Vañjulavaka. Vakulamahādevī is described in her copper plate charter[98] and the Taltalai Plate[99] of Dharmamahādevī as "an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Bhañja kings" instead of "an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Kara kings" as stated in the Ḳumurang Plate of Daṇḍimahādevī.[100] This would suggest that Vakulamahādevī belonged to the family of the Bhañjas and the Bhañjas played a prominent role at this stage of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty by installing a princess of their family on the Bhauma-Kara throne.[101] From the Dasapalla Plates[102] of Śatrubhañja of Vañjulavaka we know that he was ruling in A.D. 934 as a feudatory in the area around present Ghumsar in Ganjam district. Probably he was involved in the Bhauma-Kara politics.

Yayāti I must have made his position secure in the newly conquered territories by defeating Śatrubhañja III *alias* Tribhuvanakalasa II of the Dasapalla Plates. Panigrahi suggests that Śatrubhañja was ruling over an area at this time which lay in between Kosala and Utkala and Yayāti I would have defeated him before capturing Utkala.[103] But as stated above, during this time Śatrubhañja was not the master of Baud-Dasapalla region, which lay in between Kosala and Utkala. This area was under the Bhauma-Karas since Śivakaradeva III's time.

It seems that after ousting the Bhauma-Karas from south Tosala Yayāti did not interfere in the affairs of the Bhauma-Karas, who retained now only north Tosala. But the intervention of the Bhañjas in the internal affairs of the Bhauma-Karas led him to defeat the Bhañjas. The known date of Vakulamahādevī is year 204 of the Bhauma *Samvat* or A.D. 940. Thus the defeat of Śatrubhañja III by Yayāti I would have taken place some time around or after A.D. 940 Yayāti I was waiting for his time and about A.D. 945.[104] When the Bhauma-Kara rule ended in north Tosala he annexed it in the Somavaṁśī kingdom. Thus the entire Bhauma-

Kara kingdom came under the Somavaṁśī control and this newly acquired territory came to be known as Utkala under the Somavaṁśī kings.

We have seen above that Yayāti I occupied south Tosala before *circa* A.D. 929. This acquisition made him master of the Baud, Dasapalla, Nayagarh and other parts of Puri district and parts of Cuttack district. More precisely the lower valley of the river Mahānadī came under the Somavaṁśī occupation. As seen above Yayāti I's 9th regnal year charter records the grants of the village *Candagrāma*[105] in Maraḍā *viṣaya* of *Dakṣiṇa* Tosalī to a Brāhmin from Śilābhañjapāṭi of Oḍra *deśa*. It seems that Yayāti I refers the Baud territory as Oḍra where Śilābhañjapāṭi village was located. This was the practice followed from the time of Raṇabhañja, whose 58th regnal year charter refers to Oḍra *Viṣaya*. This led some scholars, as already discussed, to accept the Baud region as Oḍra country. But later evidences show that Yayāti I and his successors referred the coastal districts of Orissa as Utkala or Oḍra.[106] The Baud region was included in the Kosala country. This is evident from the Nibina Charter[107] of Yayāti I, issued in his 15th regnal year. This charter reveals that Gandhaṭapāṭi, identified with modern Gandharadi near Baud[108], was in Kosala country. From this evidence we can infer that after the occupation of coastal districts of Orissa Yayāti I divided his empire into two divisions—Kosala and Utkala, and the Baud region was included in the Kosala country for administrative purposes.

After the conquest of Utkala Yayāti I must have taken some steps to consolidate his position there. The *Mādalā Pāñji* credits Yayāti I with the establishment of the shrine of Lord Jagannātha at Puri and the performance of a ten fold horse sacrifice at Jaipur.[109] Panigrahi has tried to show that during the rule of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva I, Orissa was invaded by the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Govinda III (A.D. 793 to 814). After 146 years, as recorded in the *Pañji*, the shrine was re-established by Yayāti I.[110] This is quite probable, because the *Mādalā Pāñji*, as we shall discuss later, though a traditional account, still contains historical truth in it. Besides, Yayāti I and Codaganga of the Ganga dynasty were both *Paramamāheśvaras*, but on their first occupation of Orissa both built temples on the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri, a fact which indicates the great sanctity attached to the shrine by the people of Orissa at large.[111] Panigrahi has rightly stated that Yayāti's work at Puri was both political and religious and meant to be spectacular.[112] Thus the re-establishment of a shrine at Puri was his first work to secure his position and win the confidence of the people.

His second work was the appointment of a governor in Utkala or Oḍra. From the Banpur Plates[113] of Indraratha we know that Indraratha defeated Abhimanyu and acquired Oḍra. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription[114] furnishes us with the genealogy of the family from which we know that Janamejaya had another son named Vicitravīra. He had a son named Abhimanyu, who was father of Caṇḍihara *alias* Yayāti II. The evidence from the Banpur plates of Indraratha would suggest that Abhimanyu was ruling Oḍra. From the Bilhari stone Inscription[115] of the Kalacuri king Yuvarāja II it is known that Lakṣmaṇarāja who ruled at Tripurī "worshipped Someśvara with that (effigy) of Kālīya wrought of jewels and gold, which had been obtained from the prince of Oḍra", after defeating the lord of Kosala.[116] This statement would show that Oḍra and Kosala were under one overlord and there was a separate prince incharge of the Oḍra territory.

From all the above evidences it would follow that Yayāti I was the first Somavaṁśi king who appointed a member of the family incharge of the newly acquired territory. Thus Vicitravīra, Yayāti I's younger brother was made a subordinate ruler and put incharge of the Utkala country, now a part of the Somavaṁśī empire. Yayāti I ruled from Kosala as is evident from his later inscriptions. This was probably the reason why we do not have many records of Yayāti I recording grants of villages located in the coastal districts of Orissa except the 9th regnal year charter which he might have issued after ousting the Bhauma-Karas from south Tosala region.

Besides, the discovery of five short inscriptions[117] near Kandarpur in the Athagarh sub-division of Cuttack district support our above contention that Vicitravīra was appointed as a sub-ordinate ruler in Utkala by Yayāti I. Out of these five short inscriptions, four are found inscribed on the Sukhasana hill near the village Kandarpur and one on the entrance of the Paścimeśvara temple (pl. II A) at Amangei in the same village. The script used in all the five belongs to the ninth-tenth century A.D. The temple at Amangei, as we shall see later was probably renovated during the tenth century A.D. as evident from the porch of the temple. The four inscriptions on the Sukhasana hill are all in one line. Three among them record the name Vicitrabhūṣaṇadeva, while the fourth one records Vicitreśvaradeva. As stated earlier, the Brahmeśvara temple inscription only gives us the name Vicitravīra. We do not come across this name from any other source. As such we are inclined to believe that Vicitrabhūṣaṇadeva of Kandarpur inscriptions was probably the same Vicitravīra of Brahmeśvara temple inscription.

It is probable that Vicitravīra ruled in Utkala with his capital somewhere nearby and he was responsible for the erection of the porch of the Paścimeśvara temple of Kandarpur. After these two steps, taken for the consolidation of his position in the coastal Orissa, Yayāti I returned to the Kosala country.

Yayāti I made Vinītapura, identified with modern Binika[118] in Bolangir district, his first capital. Later he made Yayātinagara, a city named after him, his capital by his 24th regnal year corresponding to *circa* A.D. 949. According to some scholars[119] Vinītapura was renamed as Yayātinagara. Yayātinagara is identified with modern Jakti near Baud by some scholars[120].

From the inscriptions of Janamejaya I we know that Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta became his *Mahāsandhivigrahi* or minister of war and peace from his 6th regnal[121] year, and continued to hold the post until some time after his 31st regnal year. By Janamejaya's 34th regnal year Dhāradatta II, probably son of Malladatta and grandson of Dhāradatta I, became the *Mahāsandhivigrahi*[122]. This Dhāradatta II continued to be the minister for war and peace under Yayāti I upto his 24th regnal year.[123] Afterwards Singhadatta, probably a member of the Datta family held the above post[124].

Yayāti I's last copper plate[125] charter was dated in his 28th regnal year. As such we can assign him a period of 30 years assuming that he reigned for a further period of 2 years, which is not impossible. S.R. Nema has assigned just 28 years to Yayāti I and for that matter he has taken the last regnal years of each member of this dynasty as their last year of rule.[126] This might have been possible in case of one or two members of the Somavaṁśa but taking it for granted in case of all the members is absurd.

Thus Yayāti I was the first king of the Somavaṁśa to bring Kosala and Utkala or western and eastern Orissa under a single rule. According to Panigrahi "Yayāti I united Kosala and Utkala politically and culturally and can justly be regarded as the father of modern Orissa. The grateful posterity remembered him and made him the hero of the humorous traditions still current in the land. Yayāti Keśarī is almost a household name in Orissa and all living monuments irrespective of their age are generally attributed to him"[127]. He was succeeded by Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha (*circa* A.D. 955-980) in the Somavaṁśī throne.

Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, too, probably died as an old man and his son and successor Mahābhavagupta II Bhīmaratha ascended the Somavaṁśī throne after him. Nothing much is known about this king from his own inscriptions. Even in the inscriptions of the later members of this dynasty nothing is mentioned about the political incidents of his reign.

Bhīmaratha is described in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription[128] as thus—"who was the *kalpa* tree of the *Kali* age and the crown jewel of the princes, modest, of boundless spirit, and whose steadiness, riches, gravity, depth of knowledge (was well-known) and who was wise in producing prosperity and three sorts of power and success, a hero and destroyer of his enemies and who had qualities of a *Mahāratha*".

The Narasimhapur Charter[129] in lines 7 to 9 of the text reveals that "He (Bhīmaratha), through his frontier guards, built the pillars of victory on all sides beyond his kingdom, which served as glittering weapons piercing the heart of the possessors of the regions". All these are just the usual eulogy by the court poets without any historical basis.

S.R. Nema,[130] ascribes a verse of the Khandapara Plates of Dhārmaratha to Bhīmaratha and with the support of the above eulogies suggested that Bhīmaratha had won victories over the neighbouring countries of Gauḍa and Āndhra and burnt their towns. But our discussion below would make it clear that Dharmaratha won victories over Āndhra and Gauḍa and Bhīmaratha has nothing to do with these victories.

As seen earlier, we know from the Bilhari stone inscription[131] that Lakṣmaṇarāja II, who ruled at Tripurī from *circa* A.D. 945 to 970 had defeated the lord of Kosala and received an image of Kālīya wrought of jewels and gold as presentation from the prince of Oḍra scholars[132] take this lord of Kosala as Janamejaya I. But as shown above Janamejaya I could not have been a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇarāja since he was a contemporary of Śaṅkaragaṇa. Besides, as suggested by Mirashi[133] and Nema[134], the Prince of Oḍra should not be identified with a member of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali *maṇḍala* because the Bhañjas had been already ousted from the Baud region by the close of the ninth century A.D.

It seems that Lakṣmaṇarāja's adversary in the Kosala country was none other than the Somavaṁśī king Bhīmaratha. The defeat of Bhīmaratha, the overlord of Kosala and Utkala amounted to the victory over Utkala or the coastal districts of Orissa by Lakṣmaṇarāja which has been referred to as Oḍra in the above inscription. We have seen earlier that Vicitravīra was appointed as a sub-ordinate ruler of Utkala or Oḍra by Yayāti I. As such the prince of Oḍra, referred to in the above inscription, was probably Vicitravīra or his son Abhimanyu. After Bhīmaratha was defeated by Lakṣmaṇarāja, Vicitravīra or his son Abhimanyu must have presented the Kalacuri king with the Kālīya image described above.

The absence of any reference to the political incidence during Bhīmarath's reign would indicate that this disgraceful event in the history of Somavaṁśa has been omitted from their official records purposefully. Besides, the reference from the Bilhari Stone Inscription would also speak about the continuous struggle between the Kalacuri and the Somavaṁśī powers since the time of Janamejaya I.

From the Khandapara Plates of his son and successor Dharmaratha we know that Bhīmaratha has struck terror in the hearts of his enemies by his might and his fame, spread far and wide[135]. Rajaguru wrongly suggests that "Bhīmaratha defeated a king named Ajapāla from whom he got thirty-two war elephants including one whose name is Kāmadeva. His glorious achievements were well appreciated by a king called Rudra of the East".[136] Further he says that the first king, Ajapāla, is not yet identified with any king of that name. According to him Ajapāla was probably a local chief and Rudra was probably the king of same name who ruled in the present Manbhum district of West Bengal. A.M. Sastri[137] agrees with the identification of Rudra with king Rudra mentioned in the Boram inscription[138]. According to him Rudra and Bhīmaratha had friendly relations between them. Regarding the question of Ajapāla it can be said that Rajaguru wrongly ascribed the particular verse to Bhīmaratha while the verse refers to Yayāti I's achievements and occurs in the inscriptions of Yayāti I 24th and 28th regnal years.

From the Kudopali Grant[139] we know that a Māṭhara family ruled as a feudatory power over the present Bamra region in Sundargarh district of Orissa under Bhīmaratha. The above grant was issued by *Rāṇaka* Śrī Puñja of the Māṭhara family. From the above record and the two other records[140] of Bhīmaratha it can be concluded that the Somavaṁśī kingdom extended upto the south of Raipur district in the west and Bamra in the north.

The last known date of Bhīmaratha is his 13th regnal year[141]. Assuming that he lived for some time beyond his 13th regnal year we ascribe him a reign period of 25 years. From the Banpur Plates of Indraratha we know that he had atleast two queens and the name of his second queen was Durga. He was succeeded in the Somavaṁśī throne by his eldest son and successor Dharmaratha. Bhīmaratha was, like Janamejaya I and Yayāti I, a follower of Śaivism and known as *Paramamāheśvara* in his inscriptions.

Mahāśivagupta II Dharamaratha (*cicra A.D. 980-1000*) :-He came to the Somavaṁśī throne after his father Bhīmaratha in *circa* A.D. 980. K.C. Panigrahi[142] writes that nothing is also known of Dharmarath. But the Khandapara Copper Plates[143] were discovered after Panigrahi wrote his monograph. As such now we know about the political incidents of Dharmarath's reign.

The Khandapara Plates were issued by the king in his 11th regnal year. The Plates record the grant of a village in the 'Antaruda *Viṣaya* to a Brāhmiṇ named *Raṇaka* Abhimanyu, son of Vasu and grandson of Dāmodara. The same Antaruda *Viṣaya* is found mentioned in the Caurasi Plate[144] of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakaradeva II as located in south Tosala. This would show that by the time Dharmaratha came to the Somavaṁśī throne the south Tosala territory was already included in the Somavaṁśī empire. We have stated above that it was Yayāti I who occupied the south Tosala region some time before his 4th regnal year.

Besides the Khandapara Plates, we know about Dharmaratha from the Narasimhapur Charter and the Brahmeśvara temple inscription. In the former Dharmaratha is described as "the son of the glory of the Lunar race, the achiever of the desired object and the only friend of the sword, became the head jewel of all the kings, when hostile kings retreated to the extremity of the far-off country, being chased by his soldiers marching in *digvijaya*, in the course of which the dusts swelled"[145]. In the next verse he is credited with leading an expedition from Himālaya to Setuvandha in course of which he defeated many insignificant kings (*Itarakṣmābhṛtaḥ*) as a result of which he created panic in the hearts of the ladies of the enemies.* The Brahmeśvara temple inscription describes him as second Paraśurāma, as very powerful and Rājamalla or the best of the kings.[146]

Nema[147] writes that—"most of these are convenient praises, this much is certain that he kept his kingdom intact from foreign attacks. His enemies may be no other than those with whom his predecessor i.e. Mahā-bhavagupta Bhīmaratha came in clash". Elsewhere,[148] he has credited Bhīmaratha with victories over the neighbouring countries of Āndhra and Gauḍa from the wrong ascription of a verse to Bhīmaratha, found in the Khandapara Plates of Dharamaratha. In support of his theory he goes on length to explain the political condition of both Āndhra and Gauḍa and says that Rājarāja the great (A.D. 985-1014) of the Coḷa dynasty and the Candras of south Bengal were the contemporaries of Bhīmaratha.[149]

But a close look into the relevant portion of the Khandapara Plates would reveal that the verses under discussion[150] relate to Dharmaratha and not Bhīmaratha. Besides, comments of other scholars, who have edited the above plates, given below would support our view further. S.C. Dey, who was the first editor writes—"In the present grant he (Dharmarath) is described as a man of scholarly and virtuous disposition. He is said to have attacked and burnt the towns of Āndhra and Gauḍa".[151] S.N. Rajaguru writes—"It is, therefore, clear that at least for eleven years after Bhīmaratha, the Somavaṁśī kings did not face any political catastrophe, on the other hand they took aggressive action against the Gauḍa and Āndhra countries".[152] A.M. Shastri, another editor writes that—"Verses 8-10 describing the next two members of the dynasty are new and peculiar to this inscription as they are not noticed in any later record. They contain some new information bearing on the history of the family. Verse 9 refers to him (Dharmaratha) as a great source of the poetic nectar and as an abode of liberality and truth which had taken refuge with him out of the fear of *Kali* and, what is most important, speaks of the chain of smoke rising from the cities (Capitals) of Āndhra and Gauḍa which were burnt by him with ease as if in sport".[153] The above evidences thus prove that Nema was not right in ascribing the verse No. 9 of the Khandapara Grant to Bhīmaratha. Following the above we can also say that the description of Dharmaratha as given in the Narasimhapur Charter and the Brahmeśvara temple inscription is not merely conventional praises, as pointed out by Nema. The Khandapara Plates prove beyond doubt the conflict of Dharmaratha with the neighbouring Āndhra and Gauḍa and his subsequent success.

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*. B. Misra, the editor of the charter, translates the lines 12-15 thus: "There was a king, other than mentioned before, at Kataka in the countries, lying on the coast of eastern sea, extending from the Himalayas upto the forest adjoining the Setuvandha".

Ibid., p. 22. The relevant lines of the verse read: "*Yasmin digvijayā vatāranapurā-vidyeṣibhūmībhujāh prāptātha-ntyadigantaram tadanu ca sphotaścamūreṇayaḥ* (||) *Setuprānta vanāntari himayataḥ paryantabhūsīmanī prāgmbhodhitaṭāvanīṣu kaṭake purvetṭarakṣmābhṛtaḥ*".

As seen already,[154] towards the end of the tenth century A.D. there prevailed uncertain conditions both in Gauḍa and Āndhra. In Gauḍa or modern Bangal the Pāla dynasty faced a hard time immediately before and after the rule of Mahipāla I (*circa* A.D. 988 to 1038). Vigrahapāla II, father of Mahipāla I, was a weak ruler and was ruling before A.D. 988. As rightly suggested by Shastri, Dharmaratha's adversary in Gauḍa should be identified with Vigrahapala II.[155] As such Dharmaratha probably attacked Gauḍa and defeated its king Vigrahapāla some time before *circa* A.D. 988, the date of accession of Mahipāla I.

In the Andhra country the Eastern Cālukyas were ruling from Vengi during this time. The kings were passing through a bad time. There was, probably a civil war which griped the country for a long time. This is evident from the inscriptions of the descendents of Dānārṇava which record that after Dānārṇava, through the evil action of fate, the country of Veṅgi was without a ruler for 27 years (*circa* A.D. 973-999), after which the glorious Saktivarman, son of Dānārṇava, defeated the enemies and became king.[156] We have already stated[157] that Dharmaratha exploited this situation in Āndhra and attacked the country some time before A.D. 999.

It is quite likely that during his attack on Āndhra, Dharmaratha must have annexed atleast a part of the Kaliṅga country. Because the Banpur Charter[158] of Indraratha describes in verse No. 12 that Indraratha received the fortunes of the Kaliṅga country by the favours of his brother Dharmaratha. In other words Dharmaratha placed him in charge of the administration of Kaliṅga. This would also indicate that Dharmaratha had acquired the Kaliṅga country before Indraratha was put in charge of it. Dharmaratha's conquest of Kaliṅga is supported by the Narasimhapur charter wherein he is described to have conquered the territories from the Himalayas in the north to Setuvandha in the south.[159] No doubt Dharmaratha controlled the entire territory from Gauḍa in the north to the Kaliṅga in the south along the sea coast and Kosala in the west. D.C. Sircar[160] agrees that Dharmaratha was master of Kosala and Utkala, the two component parts of the Somavaṁśī empire. But he is not sure as to when Utkala came under the Somavaṁśī control.

Since the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara or eastern Gaṅgas were ruling continuously over Kaliṅga territory, which included the present Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts of Āndhra Pradesh and parts of Ganjam district in Orissa, it would be safe to assume that Dharmaratha annexed only a portion of Kaliṅga, possibly parts of Ganjam, after defeating his Gaṅga adversary. His Gaṅga adversary would have been Anantavarman Vajrahasta II who was ruling from A.D. 979 to 1014.[161]

Thus Dharmaratha was a very powerful monarch of the Somavaṁśa dynasty who carried the Somavaṁśī arms beyond the borders of his kingdom. He extended his influence both in north and south. Dharmaratha, died childless in about A.D. 1000. It seems that after his death there prevailed an uncertain condition in the Somavaṁśī empire as evident from the Brahmeśvara temple inscription[162]. After him Indraratha *circa* A.D. 1000-1020 descended on the Somavaṁśa throne.

The Narasimhapur Charter[163] and the Ratnagiri Charter[164] reveal that Mahābhavagupta III Nahuṣa succeeded Dharmaratha in the Somavaṁśī throne. But the Brahmeśvara temple inscription[165], surprisingly, do not refer to the rule of Nahuṣa. Instead it describes "when he, the *Rajamalla* (best of the kings), departed and went to heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time (verse. 6). Then Caṇḍihara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vicitravīra, a lineal descendent of the celebrated Janamejaya, was made king by the ministers (verse. 7)". These conflicting evidences from the records of the later members of the family make it a problem to fix the place of Indraratha in the Somavaṁśī chronology and history.

K.C. Panigrahi has rightly suggested that Indraratha was probably another son of Bhīmaratha and he considers Indraratha as a subordinate ruler of Orissa, ruling at Yayātinagar (Jajpur), who was appointed either by Dharmaratha or by Nahuṣa[166]. D.C. Sircar on the other hand thinks that most probably Indraratha was just another name of Mahābhavagupta III Nahuṣa who was a brother of Dharmaratha and possibly a son of Bhīmaratha[167]. N.K. Sahu also considers Nahuṣa to be a second name of Indraratha on the basis of the evidence furnished by the Banpur Charter.[167a] S.N. Rajaguru, while assigning Mahābhavagupta Nahuṣa a place in the Somavaṁśa chronology, suggests that Indraratha of Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Coḷa was probably a successor of Kumāra Someśvaradeva of Kosala and that he was the last Somavaṁśī ruler of Kosala before its occupation by Telugu-Coḍa rulers[167b]. In the light of facts gleaned from the Banpur Charter Rajaguru's views become untenable. Other scholars believe that Nahuṣa and Indraratha were two separate persons[168].

We have suggested above[169] that Nahuṣa and Indraratha were both one and the same person. This is evident from the discovery of the Banpur Charter[170] of Indraratha.* Fresh interpretation of the text of this charter reveals more about the

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*The charter was edited by K.B. Tripathy of Cuttack first in *Jhanakār* (Oriya Monthly), and then in the above journal, *J.A.S.* Unfortunately the author has not given photographs of all the plates alongwith his article. So it is now not available for fresh reading. We depend on his readings for our interpretation given in the following pages.

history of the family at this stage confirming our above contention. The verse Nos. 10 to 14 of the Banpur Charter contain important references to Indraratha's career and life. We give below the relevant verses and their meaning as given by the editor of the plates.

> *Śirasikṛṭaśivājño martyaloke vivasvānajañi ca kulaputro Bhīmanāmottamośrī (?) Ayamalabhata Durgāṁ pūrvapatnīṁca patnīmajanayadatha tasyāṁ pūrvaputrīṁśca putrnā || (10)*
>
> *Śrīmānindraratho ' jani prathamataḥ śaundarya-śaurya-kṣamā-dharma-tyāga-dayā-viveka-vinaya-prāgalbhya-satyāśryayaḥ prabhūtāmatha vikramādikaguṇagrāmaika līlāspade pūrva Vaṅkaratho' tha Śankararathastasyānurūpānūjau"||(11)*
>
> *Yo śāvindraratha (:) rathāṅkamahimā Somānvayakṣmāpatiḥ Śrīmad Dharmarathasya vallabhtayā lebhe Kaliṅgaḥ śrīyaṁ Samjagrāha ca vigrahe bhujabalāt tāmuḍahastādaho Vikrantirmahatī (:) padātivahutalpatve tu nyastādarah (tvanyastādarḥ) || (12)*
>
> *Svargidhamaṁ (?) dharāpatau gatavati śrīvatsarājonṛpo (?) Bhṛtyān sādayati prajāmiti muhuḥ śṛtyā janebhyo girāṁ Ya āgatya Kaliṅgato nijabhujādarpeṇa dṛptatmakaḥ vyāhatyenamudātta (?) vrttihṛdayo 'dhatta' bhimanyu mataḥ (?) || (13)*
>
> *Yo vidvānabhimanyumatyanucitaprāptādhipatyaṁ bhuvo vahvasyānadhikāriṇa (:) raṇabhuvi vyāpārayad (n?) dveṣiṇaṁ Tallakṣmī dvijasattamairanumatāmạsvādya stamyādyapa (?) Trairāyaṁca turaṅgakeṇa jagṛhe yenātha rājyāntaraṁ(?) (14)*

"The next five verses describe the ancestory of Indraratha, the donor of the grant under discussion. The dynasty is traced to the moon and is stated to have produced in due course king Bhīma who had a queen named Durgā. The next four verses recount the birth of Indraratha as the son of Bhīma with his two younger brothers, *viz.* Bankaratha (Vakraratha) and Śaṅkararatha.[171] Indraratha is said to have got the royal fortune of Kaliṅga, because he was a favourite of Dharmaratha. We know from other records of the dynasty that Dharmaratha was also the son of Bhīmaratha. It is obvious, therefore, that the mother of Dharmaratha was the eldest queen of Bhīmaratha and that Dharmaratha and Indraratha were brothers though born of different queens. It is also said that he defeated in battle an Uḍra king and got his possession of his kingdom by strength of his arms. In the next *śloka*, there is reference to a king called Vatsarāja, and to another named Abhimanyu. In the following verse, we are told that Abhimanyu was destroyed by him, alongwith his high officers, in the battlefield and was thus deprived of his illegal possession. It appears that this Abhimanyu was the father of Caṇḍihara Yayāti who succeeded Indraratha as is known from other records".[172]

S.R. Nema, while suggesting that Nahuṣa succeeded Dharmaratha to the Somavaṁśī throne, has quoted the verse 13 of the above charter and gives the meaning as follows: "—when the king Dharmaratha had gone to heaven, Śrī Vatsarāja's servants oppressed the people repeatedly. Having heard this, he (Indraratha) came from Kaliṅga and killed Vatsarāja. He also killed Abhimanyu alongwith his officers in the battlefield. Then with the approval of learned Brāhmaṇas, he got his royal fortune. He (Indraratha), thus got another kingdom of Kosala". Further he writes that the identification of Vatsarāja and Abhimanyu is not certain for the present[173].

His suggestion is based on the description of Nahuṣa found in the Narasimhapura Charter of Uddyotakeśarī[174].

A close look and a clear interpretation of the above verses in the Banpur Charter would give a true picture of the events that took place during the time of Indraratha. We give below our translation of the said verses—"In the family was born the magnificient king named Bhīmaratha, who got Durgā as his another (second) wife of whom he (Bhīmaratha) begot, first, a daughter and then sons, among whom Indraratha was the eldest son and who was full of noble qualities such as handsomeness, valour, forgiveness, religiousness, piety, etc. Vakraratha and Śaṅkararatha, who were equally endowed with the same qualities as Indraratha (verses 10-11).

He (Indraratha) received Kaliṅga by the favours of Dharmaratha and by his own strength and valour acquired Oḍra even though he had a small infantry to rely upon (verse-12).

After he (Dharmaratha) departed into heaven, the king, who was the recipient of *Śrī* or Mothered by the goddess Lakṣmī, (Indraratha is referred to herein as Vatsarāja, which is used as an adjective) after repeatedly hearing from the people that they were put into great suffering by the officials (of Abhimanyu) came from Kaliṅga and killed Abhimanyu, (who had occupied the territory or kingdom of Dharmaratha unauthorisedly) alongwith his high officers in a battlefield and thus dispossessed him of his illegal possession. After which incidence he (Indraratha) was annoinated king by the blessings of the learned Brāhmiṇs and thus he acquired another kingdom (which was no doubt Kosala, verses 13-14)".

Thus it would follow from above that Bhīmaratha had at least two queens. Dharmaratha was the son of the first queen. From the second queen was born, first, a daughter and then three sons *viz.* Indraratha, Vaṅkaratha or Vakraratha and Śaṅkararatha; Indraratha being the eldest among them. Indraratha was a favourite of Dharmaratha and through his favours he received the Kaliṅga country. We have seen above that Dharmaratha had occupied Kaliṅga or atleast a part of it during his conquest of Veṅgi. Indraratha might have been associated with him during the above conquest. And probably for this reason Dharmaratha bestowed upon him the rule of the newly acquired Kaliṅga. It is also evident from the above verses that Indraratha had conquered Oḍra by his own valour and with the help of a small infantry. Since Oḍra was already under the Somavaṁśī control Indraratha's conquest of Oḍra would appear strange. But from the record of Indraratha it would be safe to assume that Abhimanyu, son of Vicitravīra and a lineal descendent of Janamejaya I, was probably continuing to rule over Oḍra or coastal Orissa as a subordinate ruler under Dharmaratha. Towards the last part of Dharmaratha's reign he might have become ambitious and created trouble in Oḍra defying the suzerainty, stationed in the western part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. This necessitated the conquest of Oḍra by Indraratha. It is also evident from the above charter that after being chastised by Indraratha, Abhimanyu, probably, waited for an opportunity and it came when Dharmaratha died childless. As a result he occupied Kosala claiming the Somavaṁśī throne since Indraratha was away at the Kaliṅga country. As per the above record Indraratha came from Kaliṅga and killed Abhimanyu alongwith his high officials after defeating them. The record also reveals that Indraratha became king by the blessings of the learned Brāhmins. Thus he became master of the third country, obviously Kosala, the first two being Kaliṅga and Oḍra.

It is not certain whether Indraratha was a rebel, as believed by some scholars, or just a subordinate ruler. This is because the usual epithet given to a Somavaṁśī king such as Mahābhavagupta or Mahāśivagupta is not found in his own inscription. It is also not clear from any other source whether Indraratha availed the opportunity to make himself the master of the whole Somavaṁśī kingdom disregarding the claims of the collateral branch. But it appears certain that he killed Abhimanyu, who was probably none other than the father of Caṇḍihara Yayāti II and this could be the reason why his name was omitted in the later official records of the dynasty. Instead, Nahuṣa, a synonym for Indra or Indraratha, has been mentioned. The Brāhmeśvara temple inscription, an unofficial record[175], altogether remains silent about both Nahuṣa and Indraratha.

Besides, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar[176], if we allow for the rule of a Nahuṣa and a Indraratha it would inevitably clash with the system of alternate *Virudas* borne by the kings of this family. The Khandapara Plates refer Dharmaratha as a Mahāśivagupta. Then Nahuṣa would have been a Mahābhavagupta, Indraratha a Mahāśivagupta and Yayāti II a Mahābhavagupta. But from Yayāti II's own record we know that he was a Mahāsivagupta. As such in between Dharmaratha and Yayāti II there should be only one Mahābhavagupta.

From the absence of *Virudas* or coronation names in the Banpur Charter it appears that Indraratha was never crowned or had no opportunity to be crowned in the real sense since he was busy in a career of wars, defending the kingdom from foreign invasions. But the verse 14 of the Banpur Charter[177] claims that he was anointed king by the blessings of the Brāhmins. He had also used the usual epithets of *Paramamāheśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Somakulatilaka-Trikaliṅgādhipati*[178] in his charter. Besides, the absence of the name Nahuṣa and the mention of the name Indraratha, instead, in the records of the powers who invaded Orissa during this time would clearly suggest that Indraratha was not a subordinate but a sovereign ruler of the country. Thus, Indraratha quite likely succeeded Dharmaratha in the Somavaṁśī throne and this expels the doubt that the succession was not peaceful and it was an usurpation of power.

As already stated Indraratha had a career of wars. His reign witnessed many foreign invasions apart from the strifes and civil wars he faced in his domestic front. The first of such attack was probably made by the Parāmara king Bhoja (*circa* A.D. 1000-1055).[179] As pointed out by S.R. Nema this event must have occured soon after Indraratha's 6th regnal year by which time he was probably able to solve his internal problems. This is evident from his Banpur Charter which was issued in his sixth regnal year[180]. The Udepur *Praśasti*[181] informs us that the Paramāra king Bhoja of Malwa defeated the lord of Cedi, Indraratha, Tommāṇa and Bhīmaṭa. K.C. Panigrahi[182] identifies the lord of Cedi with Kokālla II (*circa* A.D. 990-1015)[183], father of Gāṅgeyadeva, with whom Bhoja had made an alliance later; lord of Tommāṇa or Tummāna with Kaliṅgarāja (*circa* A.D. 1000-1020)[184] of the Kalacuri family at Ratanpur and Bhīmaṭa with Bhīmaṭa III (*circa* A.D. 1005-1030)[185] of the Suryapura Kalacuri dynasty. He further states that "all the princes grouped together in the above quoted passage of the Udepur *Praśasti* belong to the Kalacuri dynasty except Indraratha who was a Somavaṁśī prince and who appears to have allied himself with the Kalacuris for the purpose of defence".[186] From the Kulenur inscription of Jayasimha II[187] of the Cālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa it is evident that Bhoja had made an alliance with Rājendra Coḷa of Tanjore and the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeyadeva of Dahala for the conquest of the Cālukyan kingdom of Kalyāṇa. Each of the above three kings has been credited with the invasion of both Utkala and Kosala[188]. We have stated above that the invasion of Paramāra Bhoja must have taken place soon after the 6th regnal year of Indraratha corresponding to *circa* A.D. 1006. We know about Rājendra Coḷa's Ganges expedition from a number of epigraphic records issued during and after his rule. We have seen earlier that the above expedition of Rājendra Coḷa must have taken place between his 7th and 10th regnal years corresponding to A.D. 1018 to 1021 or more precisely some time in A.D. 1020[189].

Regarding the cause of the Rājendra Coḷa's northern expedition, N. Subrahmanian writes that "out of the desire to help his nephew severely to his throne in Veṅgi the grand expedition to Ganges grew".[190] It may be pointed out here that during this period Rājarāja Narendra succeeded his father, Vimalāditya in about A.D. 1019 on the throne of Veṅgi. Rājarāja's mother Kuṇḍāvai was a sister of Rājendra Coḷa and Rājarāja had married Ammaṅgadevī, daughter of Rājendra Coḷa. During the same time Jayasimha II, the western Cālukyan ruler of Mānyakheṭa supported Viṣṇuvardhan Vijayāditya VII, step brother of Rājarāja Narendra, in his claim for the throne of Veṅgi. Threatened with this interference of the western Cālukya king in the affairs of Veṅgi Rājarāja appealed to his maternal uncle for help.[191] Rajendra sent his able general Vikram Coḷa Colia Ārayian[192] to fight the army of the western Cālukan king Jayasiṁha II, which was defeated by him. It seems that in this internal affairs of the Veṅgi kingdom the rulers of Kaliṅga and Oḍḍa or Orissa joined hands with Jayasiṁha II and his protege Vijayāditya VII.[193] After making Rājarāja's position secure on the Veṅgi throne the Cola army, led by Vikrama Coḷa, marched towards Kaliṅga and Oḍra, in order to teach the rulers of these countries a lesson.

We have seen earlier that Dharmaratha had attacked the Āndhra country about the end of the tenth century A.D. and Indraratha was associated in this expedition of Dharmaratha when Kaliṅga was acquired for the Somavaṁśī kingdom. Either this reason or the reason stated above must have motivated the Coḷa army in their attack on Kaliṅga and Orissa. Besides, the Banpur Charter informs us that Kaḷiṅga or a part of it was under the control of Indraratha. As such Indraratha, the king of Orissa was probably the main target of this retaliatory attack of the Coḷa army. The Coḷa sources[194] inform us that the king of Kaliṅga was engaged alongwith the forces of Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas in a battle by Vikrama Coḷa. According to Venkataramanaya[195], with the conquest of Veṅgi the first stage in the course of the campaign (of the Coḷa army) came to an end. The kingdom of Kaliṅga, where the usurper had taken refuge, was (formerly) a dependency of Veṅgi; and it was necessary that he should be dislodged from this retreat lest he should gather strength afresh and disturb the peace of Coḷa empire". Thus the Coḷa army advanced into Kaliṅga and then to Orissa.

The Tiruvalangadu Plates[196] narrates the campaign in Orissa thus: "After crossing many streams by making the elephants in his army serve as bridges across them, the commander of Vikrama Coḷaś forces, first fell upon the strong army of Indraratha and took possession of the territory of that ornament to the lunar race of kings'. The Tirumalai Inscription[197] further states that he (Vikrama Coḷa) seized a large heap of the family treasures, together with many (other) treasures, (which he carried away) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon together with his family in a fight which took place in the hall (at) Ādinagar (Yayātinagar),* (a city) which was famous for unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-*viṣuya*, which was difficult to approach, (and which he subdued in) close fights; the good Kosalai-*nādu*, where Brāhmaṇas assembled".

From the above it would lead us to assume that the Coḷa army inflicted a crushing defeat on the Orissan army, plundered the kingdom and took a large booty. Besides, they captured and probably killed Indraratha alongwith his family. But this could be done only after a tough resistance meted out to the Coḷa army by the forces of Indraratha. This family disgrace is understandably omitted from the accounts given in the official as well as unofficial records of the later Somavaṁśī kings. Coḷa occupation of Orissa is attested to by the existance of two inscriptions of Rājendra Coḷa one in Sanskrit and other in Tamil on the top of mount Mahendra in Gañjam district of Orissa[198].

Indraratha, who faced three strong powers of contemporary India in short succession, must have been a very powerful king and a brave soldier who fell fighting at last in his encounter with the Coḷas. Indraratha's valour is known from the verses ascribed to Nahuṣa, the second name of Indraratha, in the Narasimhapur and Ratnagiri Charters as this : "His brother Nahuṣa, the overlord of the country and the celebrated ornament of the earth, was as mighty as the lord of the animate beings. His (Nahuṣa's) rod like hand, being adorned with the tongue of (double edged) sword, resembled the snake when it took the air separated from the throat of enemy's soldiers (who are slain). The old Śavara women, having suppressed the tears in order to teach how to wander in the forest, took pity on the females of his (Nahuṣa's) enemy and told them hat there are many ruttish elephants and there is also a strong lion having irresistible access all over the world and again there are huge snakes in the holes in the caves of the hills"[199]. From the above Rājaguru suggests that Nahuṣa's enemy was living in the country where the Śavaras lived, who as a tribe are seen nowhere except in Kaliṅga and a portion of Kosala[200]. If we accept the above suggestion it would follow that Nahuṣa or Indraratha must have come into conflict with the rulers of Kaliṅga and probably Veṅgi before his occupation of Kaliṅga during the rule of Dharmaratha. Besides, the above Coḷa invasion of Orissa would indicate that his enemy were the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi who wanted to spread their influence over the Kaliṅga territory. Further, the above quoted verses from the aforesaid charters also prove that Indraratha *alias* Nahuṣa was a powerful king and brave soldier. Indraratha was a brave son of the Somavaṁśa and tried to defend his kingdom against the invasion of three great powers of India, *viz.* the Kalacuris, the Paramāras and the Coḷas.

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*Ādinagara is the Tamilian corruption for the word Yayātinagara.

From his own inscription we know that he was a great devotee of lord Śiva[201]. He is believed to have constructed the Indreśvara temple or the present Rājarāṇī temple at Bhubaneśwar[202]. The names[203] of places found from his inscription would show that the Koṅgoda *maṇḍala*, previously ruled by the Śailodbhava family and the Bhauma-Karas, was under his control. After an eventful and troublesome reign of about twenty years Indraratha's career ended in about A.D. 1020, when he was captured and probably killed by Rājendra Coḷa's general Vikrama Coḷa.

2. Somavaṁśa Power at Zenith and its Subsequent Decline

Mahāśivagupta III Yayāti II alias Caṇḍihara (*circa A.D. 1021-1040*) :—The three successive invasions as referred to above, left their mark on the land of Orissa, particularly on its political history. The Somavaṁśī power was shaken as a result of the above attacks but not obliterated. There was confusion and chaos both in Kosala and Utkala or western and eastern parts of present Orissa. After the dethronement and probable death of Indraratha, in consequence to the Coḷa invasion, the kingdom was without a ruler. In order to save the country from anarchy, Candihara *alias* Yayāti II, a member of the family, was chosen king by the ministers of the State.

This is corroborated by the evidences we get from the Narasimhapur Charter and Brahmeśvara temple inscriptions of Udyotakeśarī's time. The later record reveals that "when he (Dharmaratha), the *Rājamalla* (the best of kings) departed unto heaven without issue, all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time. Then Caṇḍihara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vicitravīra, a lineal descendent of the celebrated Janamejaya, was made king by the ministers, and he was powerful and spirited like his father".[204] From the Narasimhapur Charter we know that "the two arms of whom (Yayāti II) accomplished their objectives by completely rendering free of enemies of the two kingdoms, Utkala and Kosala, besieged by the combatant kings".[205] These statements find further support from Yayāti II's own copper plate grant, issued in his third regnal year, wherein he is described to have been chosen as king of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala[206]. All these references would prove that Mahāsivagupta III Yayāti II, who was also known as Caṇḍihara, was chosen king by the ministers or warrior chiefs, to lead the country in this time of crisis. As such he must have ascended the Somavaṁśī throne in about A.D. 1021. Secondly the above references would also show that Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala comprised the Somavaṁśī kingdom before Yayāti II ascended the throne[207].

H.K. Mahatab[208] has wrongly suggested that Yayāti II got the royal throne of Orissa as a result of his marriage with the daughter of the last Bhauma-Kara king on the basis of his interpretation of the epithet '*Svayaṁvara Prasiddha*', occuring in line 14 of the text of the Maranjumura or Jatesinga Dungri Plates of Yayāti II. He further cites the traditional account about Yayāti II's childhood and tries to co-relate it with historical facts. But his theory is untenable since they are not corroborated by other historical evidences. Besides, we have already shown above that Utkala or coastal Orissa, some time also called Oḍra, came under the complete control of the Somavaṁśī kings from Yayāti I's time[209].

After Caṇḍihara Yayāti II was chosen by the ministers of the country and anointed king he set about restoring normalcy in the country. The above reference from the Narasimhapur Charter indicates that he made Kosala and Utkala free from enemies. In other words he must have driven away the enemies, who were probably still in occupation, from the above two units of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. The enemies referred to here must have been the Kalacuris in the west and the Coḷas in the south and east. Because the Brahmeśvara temple inscription reveals that Udyotakeśarī, son of Yayāti II fought, as if it were in child's play, with Ḍāhala, Coḍa (Coḷas) and Gauḍa[210]. This would indicate that he was associated with his father, while he was young, in the wards with the above powers[211]. We have seen above that Gāṅgeyadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty of Tripurī, who had allied himself with Rājendra Coḷa and Paramāra Bhoja, had claimed to have defeated the lord of Utkala. Most probably the Kalacuri army was occupying the Kosala territory taking advantage of the political situation in the Somavaṁśī kingdom by the time Yayāti II became king. Further, it seems that after the Coḷa invasion, the ruler of Gauḍa saw an opportunity and encroached upon the Somavaṁśī kingdom from the north. The contemporary ruler of Gauḍa was Mahipāla I (*circa* A.D. 988-1038) who probably wanted to avenge the defeat the Pālas sustained during the time of his father Vigrahapāla II's rule at the hands of Dharmaratha of the Somavaṁśa[212].

Yayāti II must have freed the kingdom of enemies some time before his third regnal year. We know that in his third regnal year Yayāti II had issued the Jatesinga and Dungri Plates[213] wherein he is stated to have already fought with Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kāñci, Gauḍa and Rāḍha and maintained friendly relations with Vaṅga. According to K.C. Panigrahi[214] the ommission of Ḍāhala from the above list of kingdoms is significant. In his opinion Yayāti II, probably, made some sort of truce with the Kalacuri king of Ḍāhala *viz.* Gāṅgeyadeva and helped him by way of attacking Rāḍha and Gauḍa when Gāṅgeyadeva invaded Aṅga. In such a case the truce must have been concluded after the Kalacuris were first driven out of Kosala, the western part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. It is just possible that Yayāti II must have thought it expedient to safeguard his western border by concluding a truce with the Kalacuri king and thereby to concentrate his attention on his northern foe, the ruler of Gauḍa. This diplomatic move of the Somavaṁśī king paid him rich dividends. The Kalacuri threat was averted as well as the encroacher of his northern territories was pushed back.

Panigrahi further suggests that Yayāti II's alliance with Gāṅgeyadeva brought him into conflict with other powers of India as recorded in his charter and his wars with such powers should not be taken as imaginary.[215] This is because Gāṅgeyadeva is known to have come into conflict with the same powers as mentioned in Yayāti II's record.[216]

But D.C. Sircar[217] is reluctant to accept the above view and he considers the above claims made in the record of Yayāti II as mere eulogy. But he concedes that it suits Mahāśivagupta III better than any other king of the family bearing the same name. Besides, Sircar, strangely enough, for reasons known to himself, refers Yayāti II as Yayāti III.[218] But from the genealogy of the Somavaṁśa we find references only to two Yayātis, both Mahāśivaguptas—one father of Bhīmaratha and the other father of Udyōtakeśarīdeva. Like H.K. Mahatab, Sircar further suggests that Yayāti III (II) was related to the Bhauma-Kara family of Utkala through his mother or by marriage and was passing his days at the Bhauma-Kara court before he was chosen king. But unlike, Mahatab he tries to corroborate his hypothesis[219] by citing the 6th verse of the text of the Brahmeśvara temple imscription which reads :—

> "*Tasmin gate divasaputrini Rājamalle-nāmābhaṭṭeiru (pahate) sakalepi rāṣṭre(|) desāntarasthita—(vatī-prava)-la pravira—kālaḥ kiyānagamadatra vathākathañcit(||)*[220]

S.R. Nema[221] also joins Sircar in supporting the above hypothesis. In support he explains that before the merger of Utkala with Kosala it was under the rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The Bhauma-Kara queen, Daṇḍi-mahādevī was ruling over Utkala atleast down to the year 187 of the Bhauma-Kara era probably corresponding to A.D. 1048 and she is known to have been succeeded on the throne by two other rulers, *viz*, her step-mother Vakula-mahādevī and her aunt Dharmma-mahādevī. Further he suggests—"It seems probable that, after the death of Dharmmamahādevī there may be unsettled conditions in Utkala; and the aggressive policy of the Coḷas may also have forced its warrior chiefs to merge the Bhauma territory in the Somavaṁśī kingdom since both the families were matrimonially related from the time of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I *alias* Svabhāvatuṅga. They (the Chiefs of Utkala) may have elected Mahāśivagupta Yayāti II as their king since he, as Dr. Sircar has suggested, was probably related to the Bhaumas through his mother or by marriage. Moreover, he had also lived at their court".[222]

The above hypothesis advocated by D.C. Sircar and S.R. Nema is untenable for the following reasons. First the Brahmeśvara temple inscription does not specifically reveal that Yayāti II was passing his days in the Bhauma court but says that he was passing his days in another country (*desāntarasthita-vatī*). Secondly, the records of the later Bhauma-karas do not reveal any connection with Yayāti II or his predecessors. Lastly we know the latest Bhauma-Kara era recorded in a charter[223] of Vakulamahādevī to be 204 which would correspond to A.D. 1035 when A.D. 831[224] is accepted as the initial year of the Bhauma era. Dharmmamahādevī, being the last ruler of the family, should be assigned, in such a case, to a date later than A.D. 1035 or around A.D. 1040. As per Nema's above suggestion it would then follow that Utkala was merged with Kosala after about A.D. 1040 and Yayāti II's first regnal year may be assigned to a date about A.D. 1040. We have seen already that by A.D. 1021. Indraratha was succeeded by Yayāti II. As stated already inscriptional evidences also attest to the Somavaṁśī rule in Utkala before A.D. 1021. We have also seen earlier that the Bhauma *Saṁvat* started in A.D. 736 and not A.D. 831 Thus the aforesaid hypothesis of the above scholars is not acceptable.

Regarding the wars of Yayāti II with countries mentioned in his charter S.R. Nema agrees with the views of Panigrahi and following K.A.N. Sastri[225] further suggests[226] that after the battle of Musaṅgi (*circa*. A.D. 1021), Jayasiṁha II of the Western Cālukya family made himself master of the Raichur Doab and reached Tuṅgabhadra. Rājendra Coḷa for the remaining twenty years or so of his reign was engaged in other directions. According to Nema, Yayāti II might have had some sort of alliance with the Cālukyan king and probably attacked Kāñci during this period. Later he probably attacked Karṇāṭa (Cālukyan kingdom) when Jayasiṁha II tried to contain his (Yayāti II's) efforts to bring Veṅgi under the Somavaṁśī influence. Nema further says that Somavaṁśī-Kalacuri alliance seems probable in order to safeguard the Somavaṁśī interests from the Coḷas, Cālukyas and the Gurjaras (i.e. the Paramara king Bhoja with whom Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva's relations were already strained by now[227]). As such we can safely assume that the claims made by Yayāti II in his charter do have historical significance. Thus Yayāti II in his early career was successful in his efforts to free the kingdom of the enemies and to attack some of the contemporary powers due to his valour and diplomacy.[228]

Next the epithet '*Svabhujopārjita Trikaliṅgādhipati*' attributed to Yayāti II in his record, as seen earlier, led D.R. Bhandarkar to take him to be the first king of the dynasty in Orissa to bring Trikaliṅga territory under his control. But this has been already refuted above. The aforesaid charter beyond any doubt belongs to Yayāti II when considered from different points of view such as palaeography; the pedigree of the Datta family,[229] who acted as hereditary *Mahāsandhivigrahins*, and the above reference to contemporary powers of the time.

The particular epithet should be considered from another angle. It seems that after the Coḷa invasion some commanders of the Coḷa army stayed back in Orissa and they were probably in occupation of certain areas around modern Sonepur on region in Bolangir district which was a part of the Trikaliṅga territory[230] and called themselves as Telugu Coḍas. The emergence of Telugu Coḍas (Coḷas) as feudatory under the Nāga[231] of Baster later in the same area, supports our contention. Yayāti II seems to have brought the above area back under the Somavaṁśī control after defeating these Coḍas. Accordingly he assumed proudly the above epithet and issued his third regnal year copper plate grant from Suvaranapura or modern Sonepur, though his predecessors from Yayāti I's time downwards had issued their charters mostly from their capital Yayātinagara[232]. It would thus seem that the family considered Sonepur, their original seat of power very important alongwith the possession of Trikaliṅga territory. It is evident from the description of Suvaranapura, the place of issue of the charter of Yayāti II, which we shall discuss later. In this connection it is to be remembered that Janamejaya I, the first king of the dynasty, had also issued his first copper plate grant[233] from the same Suvarnapura in his third regnal year. In this grant also *Trikaliṅgādhipati* occurs for the first time as an epithet of these kings which is found uninterruptedly borne by the members of the family upto Karṇṇadeva, the last king. This would indicate that Sonepur was definitely considered as part of or adjacent to the Trikaliṅga territory and, as already stated above, valued for its strategic importance by the Somavaṁśī kings. The control of Trikaliṅga from Sonepur was important as it was a main centre through which routes lay to Veṅgi, Kaliṅga and to the territories of the Nāga kings of Bastar-Koraput region.

The traditional accounts[234] of Orissa credit Yayāti II with the performance of a *Daśāśvamedha* or ten fold horse sacrifice at Jajpur for which purpose he invited ten thousand learned Brahmins from Kānya-kubja or Kānauj. Another tradition[235] associates him with the starting of the construction of the present Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and the Caṇḍeśvara temple at Caṇḍeśvara under Tangi P.S. of Puri District. This is corroborated by the architectural features of the Liṅgarāja temple which we shall discuss later.

It has been suggested[236] that Yayāti II shifted the main capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom to coastal Orissa and reduced Kosala to the status of a secondary unit of the kingdom which was just reverse during the rule of Yayāti I and his successors. We have already seen that during the time of Bhīmaratha the defeat of the lord of Kosala led to the surrender of Oḍra. K.C. Panigrahi[237] suggests that the new capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom in Utkala was named as *Abhinava* Yayātinagara and he identifies it with present Jajpur in the district of Cuttack.

From the Bhrahmeśvara temple inscription[238] we know that Yayāti II had married Kolāvatī, mother of Udyotakeśarī, who had built the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. Yayāti II was a devout worshipper of Śiva. From his second name Caṇḍihara scholars[239] suggest that he was also a devotee of Caṇḍī or Śakti. His own charter credits him with the construction of many temples for various gods, *maṇḍana* or royal pavillion in parks for recreation and gardens.[240] The huge and broad stone steps known as *Daśāśvamedha Ghāṭa* on the bank of Vaitaraṇī at Jajpur are assigned to his time[241] (*Pl. 15*). Besides, our study on art and architecture below would show that many more monuments were built during this period in Orissa and many of them can be assigned to Yayāti II's rule.

We have no evidence to know about the length of Yayāti II's rule in Orissa. Surprisingly S.R. Nema assigns a longer reign period to him.[242] As stated above his only charter was issued in his third regnal year. It is natural to assume that Yayāti II, being a cousin of Dharmaratha, must have ascended the Somavaṁśī throne at an advanced age. Besides, the association of his son Udyotakeśarī in his conflicts with the contemporary powers would show that he had a grown up son who helped him in his military compaigns. As such it is not safe to assign a reign period of thirty-six years to Yayāti-II. Considering other contemporaneous evidences during the reign periods of his successors we have assigned a total period of nineteen years of rule to Yayāti II. Most probably Yayāti II died about A.D. 1040 and was succeeded by his son Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakeśarī on the throne of Orissa.

Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakeśarī (circa A.D. 1040-1065):—Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakeśarī ascended the Somavaṁśī throne, unlike his father Yayāti II, in a peaceful atmosphere that prevailed in the kingdom then. Evidences of his reign period are available from the Narasimhapur[243] or Balijhari Charter, issued in his fourth regnal year; the recently discovered but unpublished Samkhameri Grant[244], recording his fourth regnal year; the Brahmeśvara temple inscriptions[245] of his eighteenth regnal year; the short cave inscriptions[246] at Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar; the Govindapur stone inscription;[246a] and a single copper plate[247] discovered recently at Mahada in the Bolangir district.

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription depicts him as one who was the crown jewel of the circle of the earth defended by the four oceans and a conqueror of earth like Māndhātā, Pṛthu and Bharata.[248] The above verse is mere eulogy. Nonetheless his prowess is attested to by another verse of the same inscription. As seen earlier, it describes him that 'he defeated the whole force of his enemies of Ḍāhala, Coḷa and Gauḍa, as it were in child's play with the help of well armed warriors and elephants and he made the earth (tortoise) sink with the weight of the swift marches of his army, *akṣaubiṇī* in number, and he was victorious and made a large number of his kings bow down at his feet'.[249] As pointed out earlier Udyotakesarī was associated with his father Yayāti II in his military campaigns against the powers like the Kalacuris, the Coḷas and Gauḍa during his young age and most probably while he was a crown prince. There is a difference among the scholars regarding the reading of the text of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription which refers to the wars of Udyotakeśarī with the powers stated above. D.C. Sircar observes, 'that he (Udyotakeśarī) came into conflict with the Kalacuris of central India and the Pālas of Bengal is not improbable; but the ruler of Oḍra was probably one of his father's adversaries'.[250] He, thus does not accept the reading of the particular line which reads as follows :

Bālakrīḍābhireva pratibhātaṁakhilaṁ—Dāhalaṁ—Coḍra Gauḍave yuddhe——

Before him P. Acharya,[251] who re-edited the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, also gives the reading as Ḍāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa. S.R. Nema, on the other hand, accepts the reading as Ḍāhala, Coḍa and Gauḍa conveniently while dealing with the history of Yayāti II,[252] and revises the above reading, following Sircar, to Ḍāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa while he discourses on the history of Udyotakeśarī. K.C. Panigrahi and S.N. Rajaguru accept[253] the original reading of Prinsep, from his eye copy, where Coḍa is clear. In this connection Panigrahi observes that "in line 10 of the eye copy of the epigraph these names have been read as Ḍāhala, Oḍra and Gauḍa, but the word Coḍa, which is without doubt the same as Coḷa according to the Orissan

Phonetics, is to be clearly found. Oḍra or Orissa could not have been an enemy country of Yayāti II or his son, because they were themselves the kings of Orissa.[254] Thus the views of Sircar and others are not acceptable. It would then follow that Udyotakeśarī was a great warrior who proved his worth from his young days and he was responsible for the military success of his father Yayāti II who gave a new dimension to the history of Orissa in the early part of the eleventh century A.D.

It seems that except the above wars, before his coronation, Udyotakeśarī had not engaged himself in any other major conflicts. S.R. Nema,[255] from his wrong ascription of date to Udyotakeśarī, has tried to suggest about Udyotakeśarī's conflicts with the Pāla king Vigrahapāla III, Rājarāja Devendravarman of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty and the Kalacuris, particularly Gāṅgeyadeva and his subordinate ally Kamalarāja of the Tummāṇa branch of the Kalacuri family. Elsewhere,[256] he has assigned Gāṅgeyadeva's invasion of Orissa to the reign period of Indraratha. Which would mean then that Kamalarāja assisted Gāṅgeyadeva in his invasion of Utkala during the rule of Indraratha. But he confuses the issue, later, as stated above, by ascribing Kamalarāja's attack on Utkala to the reign of Udyotakeśarī on the basis of the Amoda Grant[257] of Pṛithivīdeva I of the Kalacuri dynasty of Ratanapura. It appears that during the rule of Indraratha, Gāṅgeyadeva attacked the Somavaṁśī kingdom and that Kamalarāja most probably assisted his overlord Gāṅgeyadeva in this invasion of Utkala. We shall discuss below the disintegration of the Somavaṁśī kingdom which started from the time of Janamejaya II, son of Udyotakeśarī, as a result of one of the above invasions. It is definite that Udyotakeśarī could keep his kingdom almost comprising the area denoting the present Orissa, intact during his life time. This is evident from our discussion below.

From the chronology of the Kalacuris of Dāhala it is evident that Kalacuri Karna (*circa* A.D. 1041-1073.)[258] was a contemporary of Udyotakeśarī of Orissa. This Kalacuri king has been credited with an invasion of the Somavaṁśī kingdom, which could survive intact and withstood the invasion.[259] This is corroborated by the evidences gleaned from the aforesaid single copper plate from Mahada.[260] This single plate, the second plate of a set of three plates, was discovered recently from the village Mahada of Biramaharajapur P.S. in Bolangir district. The plate refers to the reign of Śrī Udyotakeśarīdeva, son of Śrī Caṇḍiharadeva. No royal epithets occur in this plate. From this plate, which was most likely an unofficial record issued during the reign of Udyotakeśarī, we know that a brāhmin named Paṇḍita Bhaṭṭaputra Dharmapāla, son of Savyaśācī, who belonged to the Jātukarṇa *Gotra* with Vaśiṣṭha *Pravara* and of Yajurveda learning having migrated from Madhyadeśa was given the village Gomuṇḍallā in Yamalāḍa *Khaṇḍa,* as donation on a lunar eclipse day. The village Gomuṇḍalla can be identified with the village Gunurdala which is adjacent to the village Mahada, the find spot of the plate, located in approximately 84⁰ E and 20⁰. 60″ N. Thus it can be seen that parts of the Bolangir district were still under the suzerain control of the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarīdeva.

The Sonepur plates[261] of Kumara Someśvaradeva, were issued from Suvarnapura in his first regnal year. We know from this record that Udyotakeśarī had assigned the rule of Kosala to Śrī Abhimanyudeva, who was most likely a member of the Somavaṁśa and ruled as a subordinate ruler. In such case it would seem that the Somavaṁśī kingdom was divided into two administrative units and a family member was put in charge of the Kosala unit while the main seat of royal authority was in Utkala. We have seen earlier that Yayāti I had, similarly, assigned the administration of the newly acquired coastal Orissa to Vicitravīra and himself ruled from Kosala. The above plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva thus corroborate our above contention that it was during the rule of Yayāti II the main capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom was shifted from western Orissa to the coastal Orissa. The single plate[262] from Kelga also show the Somavaṁśī suzerain control of Kosala.

K.C. Panigrahi and D.C. Sircar consider that Mahakosala Historical Society Plates or the Kisarkela Grant[263] of Mahābhavagupta issued in his eleventh regnal year belong to the reign of Mahābhavagupta IV Udyotakeśarī on grounds of palaeography and the pedigree of the Datta family, who were the hereditary Mahāśandhivigrahi of the Somavaṁśī kings. From the place names revealed in this record Panigrahi suggests that the Kosala territory was under the control of Udyotakeśarī.

Thus it is clear that Udyotakeśarī was master of both Kosala and Utkala and as Panigrahi[264] puts it he appears to have had a comparatively peaceful reign. As such he would have opportunity of looking after his kingdom and welfare of his subjects well. There is no denying the fact that under his patronage there was alround development in the cultural life of Orissa. This fact is borne out by the existance of several monuments assigned to his rule.

The Brahmeśvara temple inscription reveals that his mother Kolāvatī, who was a daughter of the Solar race, was a very pious lady. It was during the reign of her son she built a temple at Ekāmra (present Bhubaneswar) for the Śivaliṅgām, called Brahmeśvara which was worshipped by Brahmā himself and appointed Devadāsīs for the temple itself.[265] It is also believed that the present Lingarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, the construction work of which was started during the rule of Yayāti II, was completed during Udyotakeśarī's rule.[266] His patronage to learned Brāhmins is revealed from his inscriptions. Purusottama Bhaṭṭa, who composed the text of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, was one of the best poets who flourished during this period and he is described in the same inscription as one who was well versed in *Vedas*, grammar, political science, poetry, logic etc. Udyotakeśarī has been depicted as a devout worshipper of Śiva. From the *Bhaktibhāgavata Mahākāvyam*[267] of Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadeva we know that one Bhavadeva was the *guru* (preceptor) of Udyotakeśarī and that he was devoted to Tāntric cult. It would thus appear that Udyotakeśarī, though he was Śaiva in belief and practice, gave equal importance to other religious beliefs of the time. This is further corroborated by the inscriptions[268] of his reign found in the Lalāṭendu Keśarī cave and Navamuni Cave. These inscriptions record his charitable work for the Jaina faith and monks of his time. Development in the field of art is evident from the majestic Liṅgarāja temple where Orissan architecture had reached its zenith[269] and the images of Tīrthankaras installed in the caves of the Khandagiri. Besides these dated as well as much studied archaeological specimens we have various other temples, sculptures etc. which can be definitely assigned to his glorious rule in Orissa and we shall discuss them later. As to his welfare work the Govindapur[270] stone inscription reveals that a tank was dug during the reign of Udyotakeśarī. Some scholars[271] ascribe this inscription to one Raṇakeśarī, unknown to us from other sources. Panigrahi has rightly ascribed this inscription to the reign of Udyotakeśarī.

Thus, as S.R. Nema writes, "his reign was glorious and peaceful which in its turn brought prosperity in the State. The Somavaṁśī power reached its zenith during his time".[272] His contemporaries *viz.* the Kalacuris, the Pālas and probably the Gaṅgas were kept away and not allowed to disturb the peace of the land. During this time the Somavaṁśī kingdom practically comprised of the present day Orissa alongwith the Dandabhukti *mandala* or parts of the present Medinapore district of West Bengal, Udyotakeśarī rightly put his resources and energy in the development of art and culture during this peaceful period of his reign when there were no aggression by foreign powers.

Interesting informations are available from the Coḷa sources which possibly have some bearing on the last part of Udyotakeśarī's reign. The Karuvar[273] and Tirumukkudal[274] inscriptions of the Coḷa king Vīrarājendra (A.D. 1063-70) state "in front of the banner-troop, (he) cut to piece Singan, (the king) of warlike (Kosalai), alongwith the furious elephants of (his) vanguards". A. Ghosh thinks that Kalacuri Ratnadeva of Kosala is referred to here.[275] According to Mirashi Siṅgam (a corruption of Siṁha) may have belonged to the Somavaṁśī family[276]. Debala Mitra suggests—"if this is correct, a Somavaṁśī king (the name and time suit Udyotakeśarī better than any other ruler of the family) must have fallen in battle with the Coḷas shortly before A.D. 1066, the date of the Karuvar record, though no Somavaṁśī inscription hints at such an incident[277]. In such a case it is to be assumed that the peaceful reign during the rule of Udyotakeśarī ended in a violent manner which probably resulted in the death of the Somavaṁśī king before A.D. 1066 or some time in A.D. 1065, which agrees with our latest date assigned to Udyotakeśarī. But since we do not come across this incidence from other sources it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say anything much about Vīrarājendra's invasion on the Somavaṁśī kingdom.

The Somavaṁśī power, after it reached its zenith during the reign of Udyotakeśarī, gradually declined during the rule of the successors of Udyotakeśarī. His latest regnal year known to us is eighteen, when the Brahmeśvara temple inscription was issued by his mother. Udyotakeśarī probably ruled for about twenty-five years. He was succeeded on the Somavaṁśī throne by his son Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya II about A.D. 1065. With the end of his rule a glorious chapter in Orissan history and culture came to an end.

Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya II (circa A.D. 1065-1080):—Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya II, who ascended the throne after Udyotakeśari, is known to us from the Ratnagiri charter[278] of the last Somavaṁśi king Karṇṇadeva. In this charter he is described thus: "To him was born a son, king Janamejaya, whose lotus feet were ornamented by bees that were the sapphire-jewels on the crests of kings bowing down to him... (The downpour of) whose cloud like sword wiped the musk-ointment off the bodies of the wives of inimical kings. Even the Nāga king was derided by the trunks of his arms which were great bearers of the weight of earth'' (Verses 12 and 13).

From the above it appears that Janamejaya II came into conflict with a Nāga king. This Nāga king has been identified[279] with Someśvara I of the Chindaka-Nāga dynasty ruling over the Bastar-Koraput region. Someśvara I is known to have ruled from A.D. 1069 to 1097. He is also credited with having waged war against Udra or Orissa[280]. According to Panigrahi in this conflict between the Nāga kings and the Somavaṁśī kings the Nāga king Someśvara I became victorious. As a result of this the Sambalpur-Sonepur region was lost by Janamejaya II[281]. From the inscription[282] of the Telugu-Coda family it is evident that they had helped the Nāga king Someśvara I in wresting the Kosala territory from the Somavaṁśī control. Yośorāja I of the Telugu-Coḍa family was a lieutenant of the Nāga king and conquered Kosala about A.D. 1070[283].

The recently discovered Nuapatna Plates[284] of Yuvarāja Dharamaratha was issued in the 5th regnal year of Janamejaya II which corresponds, as per our chronology, to A.D. 1070. Thus it is certain that the Sambalpur-Sonepur tract was lost to the Somavaṁśī kings about A.D. 1070. N.K. Sahu is right when he says that Yuvarāja Dharmaratha was the last known Somavaṁśī ruler of Kosala[285]. As seen already, the Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva reveal that he ruled from Suvarṇapura. It also informs us that Udyotakeśarī assigned the rule of Kosala to Abhimanyu probably a member of the family. N.K. Sahu wrongly identifies him with Abhimanyu, father of Candihara Yayāti II[286], who, as already stated above, was killed by Indraratha. Besides, Abhimanyu, being father of Yayāti II, could not have survived until such a long period so as to rule Kosala during Udyotakeśarī's reign period. Kumāra Someśvara is said to have been ruling in the *Atītarājya* of Abhimanyu who was made ruler of Kosala by Udyotạkeśarī.[287] Panigrahi suggests that Kumāra Someśvara was ruling as a nominee of the Nāga king of Bastar for he does not mention his relationship with any Somavaṁśī king, although he claims to have belonged to the family of the Moon, nor he acknowledges their overlordship. This suggestion seems to be probable. It is also possible that he was a rebel in the family who did not recognise Yuvarāja Dharmaratha's succession. But in the light of the discovery of the Nuapatna Grant of Yuvarāja Dharmaratha it can be assumed safely that in Kosala Abhimanyu was probably succeeded by Yuvarāja Dharamaratha. Kumāra Someśvara issued his Sonepur Charter in his first regnal year. Accordingly we may assign Kumāra Someśvara's rule in Kosala to A.D. 1070-71. He probably succeeded Yuvarāja Dharmaratha but ruled as an ally or protege of the Nāga king of Bastar.

His rule was very short because we find the Telugu-Coḍa family[288], originating from Yaśorāja I, first started their rule as sub-ordinate rulers of the Nāgas and later assumed independent status and ruled over the Sambalpur-Sonepur tract from Suvarṇapura as their capital. Thus we see that after the division of the Somavaṁśī kingdom into the two units of Utkala and Kosala for administrative purposes.

Abhimanyu was first appointed to rule Kosala during the time of Udyotakeśarī. During Janamejaya II's rule Yuvarāja Dharmaratha was incharge of the administration of Kosala. Kumāra Someśvara of the Sonepur Plates was probably a contemporary of Yuvarāja Dharmaratha and ruled Kosala as a nominee of the Nāga kings about A.D. 1070-71 after Janamejaya II lost Kosala to the Nāga king of Bastar. It is also probable that the Trikalinga territory, comprising parts of Koraput, Baud and Bolangir districts of present Orissa, was also lost by the Somavaṁśī kings from the time of Janamejaya II. As stated earlier, the Telugu-Coḍas probably occupied this area.

The contemporary Gaṅga king of Kaliṅganagara was Rājarāja I Devendravarman (A.D. 1070-1076 or A.D. 1078)[289], father of the great Coḍagaṅga. The Dirghasi Stone Inscription[290], dated in *Śaka Saṁvat* 997 corresponding to A.D. 1075-76 reveals that Vanapati, the commander-in-chief of the Gaṅga king Devendravarman won victories against the kings of Veṅgi, Kimiḍi, Kosala, Giḍrisingi and Oḍra. Since Kosala and Oḍra were under the control of the Somavaṁśī kings it is suggested that Janamejaya II's reign witnessed the above Gaṅga invasion. The king of Kosala of the above inscription, in this case, should be identified with a member of Nāga family or a member of the Telugu-Coḍa family of Kosala. Because after about A.D. 1070, as seen earlier, Kosala was wrested from the Somavaṁśī control. The Gaṅga invasion must have been resulted in the loss of southern territories of the Somavaṁśī kingdom[291] comprising parts of the present Ganjam district. P. Acharya[291a] thinks that Rājarāja Devendravarman's conquest of Utkala was considered as a definite danger to the kingdom of Rāmapāla (A.D. 1077 to 1120). Accordingly Rāmapāla seems to have declared war against the Gaṅga king soon after his conquest of Varendra and consolidation of his power in the Pala kingdom. His motive was to help the neighbouring Somavaṁśi Janamejayadeva II of Utkala and create a buffer state between his kingdom and Kaliṅga. His suggestion is based on a verse of *Rāmacarita* which reads as follows :

'Bhavabūṣaṇa santatabhuvamaurejanhaya-jitamuktālayām (/)
Jagadayatisma samstān Kaliṅgāmstar-niśācarān nighna (//)

The meaning of the above verse is : "He (Rāmapāla) did favour to the vanquished king of Utkala, who was born in the lineage of Soma, Nāga or Gaṅga, the ornament of Bhava (Śiva) and rescued the whole world from the terror of Kalinga after having exterpited those robbers of Kaliṅga"[291b]. P. Acharya takes the vanquished king of Utkala to be a member of the Somavaṁśa and suggests that the fight with the Gaṅga king and the rescue of the king of Utkala by Rāmapāla probably took place some time in A.D. 1080, when the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga was still a child. Thus the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya II became a pawn in the hands of the neighbouring kings who made Orissa their chess board of politics. If the above suggestion has any basis then it would seem that the weakness of the Somavaṁśī power became evident from Janamejaya II's time.

Thus the disintegration of the Somavaṁśī kingdom started from the time of Janamejaya II in whose reign the Somavaṁśī kingdom had shrinked on its western and southern borders. Janamejaya II was succeeded in the Somavaṁśī throne by his elder son Purañjaya.

Mahābhavagupta V Puṛañjaya (circa A.D. 1080-1095) :—We do not get any records belonging to the reign of Purañjaya. The Ratnagiri Charter[292] describes him as "the best of men, the conqueror of the cities of enemies, whose lotus-feet were worshipped by bowing kings and whose prowess was equal to that of resplendent Sunāśira (Indra, verse 14). Further he has been described that even the kings of Gauda, Ḍāhala, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga were afraid of his prowess, (verse 15). Due to lack of other corroborative evidences the above description in the Ratnagiri Charter has been regarded as conventional eulogy.

Panigrahi[293] suggests that the process of disintegration of the Somavaṁśī kingdom must have continued during the reign of Purañjaya. According to him the Daṇḍabhukti or the Midnapore region, which was a part of the Bhauma-Kara kingdom[294] was also most likely under the Somavaṁśī dominion. This region was probably wrested from the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya II or Purañjaya as *Rāmacarita*[295] reveals that this region was under a feudatory of the Pāla king Rāmapāla The above hypothesis of the learned scholar seems quite plausible. Nothing more is known about this Somavaṁśī king from other sources. Purañjaya probably died childless, and was succeeded by his brother.

Mahāśivagupta V Karṇṇadeva (circa A.D. 1095-1110):—Karṇṇadeva ascended the Somavaṁśī throne after Purañjaya. He was the last known member of the Somavaṁśī dynasty in Orissa. The Ratnagiri Charter was issued from Yayātinagara, the capital of the kingdom in the 6th regnal year of his reign. By the time he came to occupy the Somavaṁśī throne the extent of the Somavaṁśī kingdom was, probably, limited to the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and parts of the Ganjam district of modern Orissa.

Reference to Karṇṇadeva's reign in Orissa is also available from the Gandibedha Sun image inscription[296] and the recently discovered Kamalpur Plates[297] of his reign. The former inscription is a short inscription which records his 3rd or 13 regnal year. The latter record was issued by a subordinate ruler Jayarnava who belonged to the Mahārāṣṭrakula and ruled from Koleḍāpāṭa in Koleda *maṇḍala* during the seventh regnal year of king Karṇṇadeva. Koleḍāpāta, the place of issue, can be identified with Kulada[298] near Bhanjanagar in Ganjam district. This would indicate that a portion of the present Ganjam district to its south-west and north was included in the Somavaṁśī kingdom atleast upto the seventh regnal year of the king or A.D. 1102.

The mutilated and reduced kingdom of Karṇṇadeva was further sandwiched between two powerful neighbouring kingdoms of Pālas in the north and Gaṅgas in the south. It seems that while Rāmapāla was trying to revive the lost prestige of the Pāla empire, Coḍagaṅgadeva, who was a powerful and long-lived king, tried to expand his territories at the expense of the Somavaṁśī kingdom .From *Rāmacarita* we know that Jayasiṁha, a subordinate ruler of Midnapore under Rāmapāla, is said to have lifted Karṇṇakeśarī, the lord of Utkala with his palm.[299] In the Korni Plates of Coḍagaṅgadeva it is stated that he had reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala[300]. Acharya[301] is of the opinion that Jayasiṁha probably killed Purañjaya, who might have declared war against Gauḍa or disowned allegience to the Pālas.

as evident from the verse attributed to him in the Ratnagiri charter, and out of mercy installed Karṇṇakeśarī or Karṇṇadeva as king on the Somavaṁśī throne. According to him Karṇṇadeva was installed as king in A.D. 1100. He further suggests that after A.D. 1100, Coḍagaṅga, after consolidating his position in the south wanted to avenge the earlier defeat by Rāmapāla and conquered Utkala but allowed its ruler to rule as a subordinate until A.D. 1118 before attacking Gauḍa.[302]

Since there is no evidence to show that Karṇṇadeva was a subordinate ruler under the Gaṅga king the above view is not accepted by us. It is definite that Jayasiṁha defeated Karṇṇadeva and Coḍagaṅga came to his rescue. In interfering the affairs of the Somavaṁśī kingdom both the Pālas and the Gaṅgas had a single motive i.e. to extend their power and sway over Orissa. K.C. Panigrahi has correctly assessed the situation when he says that Coḍagaṅga was not however helping Karṇṇa out of benevolent motives. He was merely seeking an opportunity to annex the entire Somavaṁśī kingdom. Coḍagaṅgadeva was succeeded in his motive of annexing Orissa into his kingdom by A.D. 1110. This is evident from the Liṅgarāja temple[303]. Inscription of Coḍagaṅgadeva dated in A.D. 1114. Besides, the Korni Plates[304] and the Khellor temple inscription[305] also indicate about the occupation of Orissa by Coḍagaṅgadeva some time before A.D. 1112 putting an end to the Somavaṁśī rule.

Thus it is clear that in the game of power politics between the Pālas and the Gaṅgas, which probably started during Janamejaya II's reign period, the Gaṅgas ultimately became victorious. The main reason for the downfall of the Somavaṁśī power was the weakness of the later rulers of the dynasty. Since Janamejaya II's time the Somavaṁśī kingdom as well as power gradually declined. The last two rulers Purañjaya and Karṇṇadeva were weak and Karṇṇadeva's weakness of character is evident from his own inscription. He donated a rent-free village to a dancing girl, Karpura-Śrī by name who had become his queen, for the increase of merits of his own self and his parents.[306] It has been suggested that the Somavaṁśī dynasty had spent their fortunes in building temples of Śiva, especially the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, the highest building in India at the time of its construction, and the financial drain caused by it seems to have reduced the military power of the Somavaṁśīs[306a]. Besides, the traditional sources point to the evidences of treachery and dissensions among his officers which he was unable to check.[307] *The Mādalā Pāñji*[308] states that Vāsudeva Ratha, the Commander-in-chief (*Vāhinipati*) of the Somavaṁśī army, invited Coḍagaṅga to invade Orissa. In this regard writes K.C. Panigrahi, "Beyond the frontiers the Gaṅga king was watching the developments in Orissa and also an opportunity to invade. After receiving the invitation, as the chronicle describes it in a picturesque language, one day he came in disguise, pounced upon Cuttack and made himself king. "This happened in about A.D. 1110 and the Somavaṁśī ruling family passing through the vicissitudes of the time for over six centuries, ultimately became extinct"[309].

Thus after the zenith reached in the Somavaṁśī power during the region of Udyotakeśarī, the faimly and their power passed into oblivion within a period of about fifty years and covering three generations. Thus ended their long reign period of more than two centuries in Orissa. Unfortunately a weak ruler like Karṇṇadeva was pitted against powerful foes of his time like Coḍagaṅgadeva and Rāmapāla. Karṇṇadeva could not stand the test of his time nor rise to the occasion and could not carry the Somavaṁśī banner further. His overthrow by the Gaṅga king proved better for Orissa.

Notes and References

1. See above, p. 38.
2. S.R. Nema, *P.H. S.S. K.O.*, p. 151.
3. *E. I.*, Vol., VIII, pp. 138-43 ff, lines-6-7 of the text.
4. N.K. Sahu, *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, Sambalpur University, p. 18; S.N. Rajaguru, *Ibid.*, p. 50.
5. See above, p. 37.
6. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 145.
7. *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 256, verse 23 of the Bilhari Stone Inscription.
8. H.C. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 758; V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II. p. 34, fn. 4.
9. H.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 396.
10. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 145.
11. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. cxvii; *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, P. 36.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
13. *E. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 345-51 ff, line-48 of the text.
14. See above, p. 41.
15. See above, p. 51.
16. S. N. Rajaguru, *I. O.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 16 to 25.
17. *E. I.*, Vol. III, p. 337,
18. S. R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 197.
19. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Nos. 16 to 25, Notes on p. 150; and see the chapter on the Sources.
20. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95 ff.
21. *I. H. Q.*, Vol., XX, pp. 245-50 ff.
22. D.C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.* Vol. XX, p. 239 & 245; *H.C.I.P.* Vol. IV, p. 146.
23. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 197; N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 18; S.N. Rajaguru, *Ibid.*, p. 50; H.K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 180; H.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 396.
24. B. Misra, *D.M.O.*, p. 74.
25. K.C. Panigrahi; *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 4.
26. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 196.
27. "Kalibhana Grant of 6th R.Y." *I.H.Q.* Vol. XX, pp. 238-50 ff, line-10.
28. *E. I.*, Vol. III, p. 350.
29. S.N. Rajaguru, *I.O.* Vol. IV, p. 261.
30. P. Acharya, *S.O.H.A.A.*, p. 45.
31. S.N. Rajaguru, *I.O.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 39 & 40
32. *J.A.S.B.* (*N.S.*), Vol. I, 1905, pp. 14-16 ff.
33. See above, p. 46.
34. M.M. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 1898, p. 378.
35. See above, p. 12.
36. See appendix-I.
37. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. II, 1916, pp. 45-55 ff.
38. D.R. Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of North India*, p. 403, fn. 13; *I. A.*, Vol. LXI, 1932, p. 241.

39. U.K. Subudhi, *The Bhauma-karas of Orissa*, p. 106; Smt. S. Tripathy, *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. xiii.
40. "Kumurakela charter", *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 429-35 ff.
41. "Baud grant of 26th R.Y." *E. I.*, Vol., XII, pp. 325-28 ff.
42. *Ibid.*, line 15 of the text.
43. "Baud Plates of 54th R.Y." *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 321-25 ff.
44. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 147-152 ff.
45. Smt. S. Tripathy, *Op, cit.*, p. xxvi; R.C. Mazumdar, *Ancient India*, pp. 384-85.
46. Smt. S. Tripathp, *Op. cit.*, p. xvi.
47. *I,H.O.* Vol. X, pp. 473-77 ff.
48. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op, cit.*, p. 18;
49. Smt. S. Tripathy, *Op. cit.*, Inscription Nos. 23 to 37.
50. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, pp. 208-12; Vol, IV, pp. 67-68 ff; D.C. Sircar, *E. I.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.
51. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, pp. 208-12.
52. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 307-12.
53. *I.O.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 17 to 25.
54. *I.H.O.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 153.
55. See above, p. 70.
56. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
58. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 18; S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 202; S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 367; He identifies him with a feudatory chief under the Bhauma-karas.
59. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 473-77.
60. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp 351-5 ff.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
62. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
63. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 95-8 ff, lines 4 & 5 of the text.
64. U.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
66. *E.I.*, Vol. III, 345-51 ff, line 48 of the text.
67. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 14-16 ff; S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 167-175 ff.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171, lines 43-50; K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 49-52. The relevant verse reads: "*So=bhun=nrpah somakula-biabhanuh Svabhavatunga nijapaurusena* (|) *Yah Kosalapalana-Kaumudendu vijitya Caidyan vitatana Laksmih* (||).
69. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
70. V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. lxxvi ff; *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, pp. 87-88.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
72. *E.I.* Vol., III, pp. 345-51 ff, line 48 of the text.
73. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.
74. "Vakratentali Grant", *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95 ff.
75. "Kalibhana Grant", *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 245-50 ff.
76. *Ins. of Orissa*, Vol. IV, Nos. 17 to 20.
77. *Ibid.*, Nos. 21 to 24.
78. N.K. Sahu, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.
79. *E.I.*, Vol., XXIII, pp. 248-55.
80. B.C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 184-185.
81. P. Acharya, *Op. cit.*, p. 45.
82. *E.I.*, Vol. XXII. pp. 135-8, lines 34-35 of the text.
83. J.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 24, fn. no. 18, and p. 89.
85. "The Kumurang Plate", *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 564-77.
86. *E.I.*, Vol., XXXVI. pp. 307-12; *I.H.Q.*, Vol., XXI, pp. 213-22.

87. S.N. Rajaguru, *I.Q.*, Vol. IV, pp. 159-66; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 186 ff; *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 36-43.
88. *Ins. of Orissa*, Vol. IV, Nos. 27, 30 & 31.
89. *Ibid.*, No. 32.
90. *Ibid.*, No. 33-A.
91. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, pp. 52.
92. *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.) Vol. I, 1905, pp. 14-16 ff.
93. *Ibid.*, lines 45-50 of the text.
94. See above, p. 45.
95. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 351-55 ff.
96. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 146; S.N. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 207.
97. U.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, p. 79.
98. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 310, lines 19-20.
99. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 221, lines 18-19.
100. B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, p. 65.
101. U.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, p. 79; B. Misra, *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-56; *H.C.I.P.*, Vol., IV, p. 67.
102. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. I, pp. 207 ff.
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105. For identification of place names see Appendix-II.
106. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. 1916, pp. 45-55 ff.
107. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 95-8 ff.
108. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 146.
109. *Mādalā Pāñji*, Ed., A.B. Mohanty, pp. 4-6; P.M. Acharya, *Odisār Itihāsa* (Oriya), p. 49 fn.
110. K.C. Panigrahi, *A.R.B.*, pp. 243-47.
111. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.C.*, p. 33.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 271-76.
114. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, 1838, p. 557.
115. V.V. Mirashi, *CII*, Vol. IV, Part-I, p. lxxxvi.
116. *Ibid.*
117. These inscriptions are unpublished and listed as Nos. 1 to 5 (Plaster cast) in the Epigraphy section of Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.
118. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 199.
119. Hiralal, *Ibid.*, p. 189.
120. N.K. Sahu, *U.U.H.O.*, Vol. I, pp. 137-38.
121. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 240.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
123. *J.A.S.B.*, (*N.S.*), Vol. I, 1905, pp. 7-8 and 16-18 ff.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12 and 19-23 ff.
125. *Ibid.*
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127. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op.cit.*, p. 33.
128. P. Acharya, *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, 1947, pp. 71-3 ff., verse-4.
129. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, 1930-31, pp. 1-24 ff.
130. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 210.
131. V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, part I, p. lxxxvi.
132. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 145.
133. V.V. Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. cxviii.
134. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
135. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 62.
136. S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 374-5.

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138. Bhandarkar's list No. 1176.
139. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-9 ff.
140. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 355-9 ff; and *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8 ff.
141. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-9 ff.
142. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 34.
143. S.C.Dey, *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, No.2,pp. 60-69 ff; S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.* VoI. IV, pp. 280A-280F; *E.I.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 225-28, *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 85-94.
144. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff.
145. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-24 ff, lines, 9. 12.
146. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp, 63-74 ff, verses 5 to 6.
147. S.R. Nema, *Op. cit.*, p. 213.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
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150. Verses 9 & 10 of the Khandapara Plates, S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 280c.
151. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 62.
152. *Op.cit.*, p. 375.
153. *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. I, p. 88.
154. See above, p. 48.
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156. H.*C.I.P.*, Vol. IV.
157. See above, p. 48.
158. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 274.
159. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-24 ff, lines 9-12 of the text.
160. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. V, p. 210.
161. H.K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 193.
162. *J.R.A.S.B.* Vol. XIII, p. 17.
163. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15ff.
164. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263-66 ff & pp. 269-74 ff.
165. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, 1947, pp. 71-3 ff.
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167b. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
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181. *E.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 222-38, verse. 19.
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250. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. V, p. 212.
251. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII.
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306. "Ratnagiri Charter", lines 41-45.
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6

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

In the present chapter we shall discuss the administration and society under the Somavaṁśi kings of Orissa drawing information mainly from the epigraphical sources. The epigraphic records of the dynasty and their feudatories enable us to have an idea of the administrative system and the condition of the society during the period under review. A study of the monuments, assignable to the Somavaṁśī period, and the epigraphic records of some contemporary dynasties further help us in this regard. References from general works on polity, of the contemporary period, help us in making a comparative study of some of the features in the Somavaṁśī administration in Orissa.

ADMINISTRATION

The administrative organisations of some of the contemporary powers such as the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala, the Paramāras of Malwa, the Pālas and Senas of Bengal in north India, the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the Deccan and the Coḷas and the Cālukyas in south India show the same general type with some important difference.[1] Eastern The administrative system of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa was similar, in a broader sense, with the administrative systems under the above powers of India.

Before we go into the details of the administrative system of the period under discussion it is necessary to find out the extent of kingdom the Somavaṁśīs had under their suzerain control. As stated already the Somavaṁśī kings started their rules in a modest way in around Suvarṇapura in Kosala or the present Sonepur town in the district of Bolangir. In due course they brought the whole of Kosala, comprising the upper Mahānadī valley of the Sambalpur-Sonepur tract in western Orissa, under their control. Having brought Kosala under domain, they, next, extended their kingdom to the east annexing Oḍra or the coastal Orissa. Somavaṁśīs being the successors of the Bhauma-karas in the political scene of Orissa it seems that they practically inherited the territory of the latter after they became extinct. Thus the Somavaṁśī power at its height controlled almost the entire area denoting the present State of Orissa alongwith adjacent portions of the Medinapore district of West Bengal[2]. But a perusal of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions and particularly the identification of the gift villages mentioned in the inscriptions, which is given in Appendix-II, would seem to indicate that part of the present south Orissa, consisting Ganjam, Phulabani and Koraput districts were outside the pale of the

Somavaṁśī control. The few inscriptions issued during the rule of the Somavaṁśīs by their feudatories would indicate that parts of the Somavaṁśī kingdom were under the control of their feudatories who most probably enjoyed autonomous status to some extent. The rest of the kingdom was under the direct rule of the Somavaṁśī kings. That part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom, which was under their direct rule, was divided into several units for administrative purposes.

Deśa:—From the inscriptions of the dynasty it would appear that *deśa*[2a], equivalent with a modern province, was the largest unit of administration under them. The reference to such words as Oḍra *deśa*, Utkala, Koṅgoda, Kosala *deśa* and Kaliṅga found in the inscriptions of the members of the dynasty would support our above suggestion. The reference to Kosala as *Nāḍu* (Kosalainādu) found in the Tirumalai Inscription of Rājendra Coḷa clearly shows that Kosala was a province in the Somavaṁśī kingdom during the invasion of Rājendra Coḷa's army[2b]. In the earlier part of their reign the members of the Somavaṁśī dynasty divided their kingdom into two main units, which were no doubt two provinces, namely Kosala and Oḍra for administrative purposes. This is evident from the copper plate inscriptions of Yayāti I, who first brought the coastal Orissa under the Somavaṁśī control. The reference to the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* Cchioh=aṭeśvara[3] in Yayāti I's charters of fourth and ninth regnal years, wherein the gift villages are described to have been located in Oḍra-*deśa*, is significant. Because we find a different *Mahāsandhivigrahi*, *Rāṅaka* Dharadatta,[4] in Yayāti I's charters issued in his eighth, fifteenth and twenty-fourth years of reign. These charters record land grants in Kosala. In such a case it would be safe to assume that immediately after his occupation of coastal Orissa Yayāti I had made Oḍra and Kosala two distinct administrative units in his kingdom and appointed two separate *Mahāsandhivigrahis* for them.[5] Most likely Yayāti I appointed Vicitravīra, his brother, as a subordinate ruler of Oḍra. This is evident, as stated in the preceding chapter, from the Kandarpur stone inscriptions of Vicitradeva. But it is difficult to ascertain the exact political status of Vicitravīra who was incharge of the administration of Oḍra from those stone inscriptions. Thus Yayāti I, who stationed himself in Kosala, was directly ruling Kosala while he put the administration of Oḍra under the rule of a family member.

In due course, with the expansion of the Somavaṁśī power, new territories were conquered. The Banpur Charter[6] of Indraratha informs us that Kaliṅga was assigned to Indraratha by his elder brother Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha. We have seen already that Kaliṅga or part of it was annexed into the Somavaṁśī kingdom during Dharmaratha's attack on the Āndhra country. Again the gift village of Lapuṭa-Kumbha is described to have been located in the Thoraṇa *viṣaya maṇḍala* in the same charter.[7] Thus it would seem that Kaliṅga constituted a separate province of the Somavaṁśī kingdom from Dharmaratha's reign and Indraratha was made governor of it, in the beginning of his career. Besides, Koṅgoda was also included in the Somavaṁśī kingdom but only as a *maṇḍala*, before Indraratha's reign as a king. From the Banpur charter it is clear that the Somavaṁśī kingdom of the time constituted the three provinces of Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Kosala.

This position is changed under Yayāti II's reign. From his Jatesinga and Dungri Plates[8] we know that the Somavaṁśī kingdom of his time was divided into four main units, probably provinces of Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala. The word Oḍra, denoting a territory, is conspicuous by its absence in the above record which would, then, suggest that from this time onwards Utkala and Oḍra represented the same territory. This is corroborated from the evidences furnished by the Narasimhapur Charter[9] of Udyotakeśarī, son of Yayāti II. In this charter, while the gift villages have been recorded as located in Oḍra, Rudradatta is referred to as the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* of both Utkala and Kosala. From the above it is apparent that during Udyotakeśarī's reign the Somavaṁśī kingdom, comprising two provinces of Utkala and Kosala, were put under one *Mahāsandhivigrahi* and Oḍra, probably, constituted a part of Utkala. Further, the old position of having two provinces, as under Yayāti I's rule, was restored. We do not find any reference to any other provinces under the Somavaṁśī kingdom. The above arrangement of having two units of administration in the shape of provinces continued until Kosala was lost to the Nāga kings of Bastar during Janamejaya II's reign.

Maṇḍala:—The next unit of administration was a *maṇḍala*, which is similar to a modern revenue division. *Maṇḍala* in different periods denoted either a district or a province in the modern sense.[10] A *maṇḍala* denoted the same territory i.e. of a division during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas in Orissa.[11] The Somavaṁśī inscriptions reveal that a *maṇḍala* was bigger in dimension than a *Khaṇḍa* or a *viṣaya*. To cite an example, the Narasimhapur charter[12] informs us about the gift village thus:—*Oḍradeśīya Airāvaṭṭa- maṇḍala Saṁsarāya Khaṇḍiya Kontalaṇḍāgrāma*. Thus after a province a *maṇḍala* constituted the next largest administrative unit. We find from the inscriptions of this period reference to eight *maṇḍalas* in the whole of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. They are Gandhaṭapāṭi, Sidaṇḍa, Gandharavādi, Koṅgoda, Airāvaṭṭa, Roṅgada, Koleḍā and Saṅgāma.[13] The Gandhaṭapāti *maṇḍala*, occuring in the Nibinna Charter[14] of Yayāti I and identified with modern Gandharādi[15] in the old Baud State, was apparently named after Śatrubhañja I Gandhaṭa, father of Raṇabhañja and the second king of the Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali. This Gandhaṭapaṭi seems to have been changed to Gandharavāḍi in the Jatesinga and Dungri Plates[16] of Yayāti II, but wrongly read as Sambaravāḍi by the editor of the plates. Gandharāḍi near Baud, which contains the twin temples of lord Siddheśvara and Nilamādhava, was probably the headquarters of a *maṇḍala* under the Somavaṁśī administration. Another division under the Somavaṁśīs was the Koṅgada *maṇḍala*. We have seen already that Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* corresponded with the modern Ganjam district and a part of the Puri district[17]. It constituted the kingdom of the Śailodbhava with its capital at Bankada near Niladriprasad village about 35 km. from Banpur. That this area was under the Somavaṁśī dominion is proved, apart from the aforesaid Banpur Charter of Indraratha and Jatesingha and Dungri plates of Yayāti II, by the discovery of three short stone inscriptions, engraved in the charter of tenth-eleventh century A.D. script, as a result of the recent excavation conducted by Orissa State Archaeology Department.

Before the Somavaṁśīs this area was under the control of the Bhauma-karas as proved by the Badakhemundi Plates[18] of the Śvetaka Ganga king Jayavarmadeva. The reference of Koṅgoda alongwith Utkala, Kaliṅga and Kosala in the charter of Yayāti II would indicate that from the position of a *maṇḍala* during Indraratha's rule it was raised to the status of a province under Yayāti II. Thus Koṅgoda was an important territory under the later Somavaṁśī rule. Airāvaṭṭa *maṇḍala* occuring in the Narashimhapur Charter of Udyotakeśarīdeva has been identified[19] with the southern part of Dhenkanal, western part of Cuttack, and almost the whole of the Nayagarh sub-division of Puri district, where the Nanda kings ruled, probably as feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. The Koleḍa *maṇḍala* of the Kamalpura Charter of Karṇṇadeva's time can be identified with its name's sake, found in the Antigrama Charter[20] of the Bhañja king Jayabhañjadeva, which is modern Kulada near Bhanjanagar in the Ganjam district. As to the other *maṇḍala* mentioned above it has not been possible to identify them.

Viṣaya:—The next unit in the Somavaṁśī administration was a *viṣaya* which is equivalent to a modern district.[21] From the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī and their feudatories we come across the names of seventeen *viṣayas*. They are Oṅgātaṭa, Potā, Kosalaḍa, Nimunā, Povā, Sandāna or Sammāni, Tokkāra, Gaṇḍitama, Sānula, Mardā, Telātaṭa, Lāvada, Sakhaṅgadyanha, Devībhoga, Antaruda, Bhrāṇda and Uttarāvallī. The districts of Oṅgātaṭa and Telātaṭa were no doubt named after the rivers Ong and Tel, tributaries of the Mahānadī flowing in the district of Bolangir. From the words *taṭa* it is clear that they were districts founded by the side of the above two rivers. Some of these *viṣayas* have been identified by scholars which is given in Appendix-II. The Antaruda *viṣaya* referred to in the Khandapara Plates[22] of Dharmaratha has been identified with the Antaruda *viṣaya*, mentioned in the Caurasi Plate[23] of Śivakaradeva of the Bhauma-kara dynasty. This Antaruda or Antarudra is identical with the Antarodha *Paragaṇā* in the Sadar sub-division of the Puri district. The three charters[24] of Janamejaya I issued in his 31st regnal year refer to the donee as hailing from Takkāri which has been not yet satisfactorily identified. The charters only record *Takkari Vinircatāya* without mentioning the locality where Takkāri was located. The Kalibhana Plates[25] of the same king, issued in his 34th regnal year, record that the gift village Konnapillā was located in the district of Tokkāra of Kosala *deśa*. Taking Tokkāra of the latter record as Takkāri of the former charters it can be safely assumed that Takkāri was located in Kosala *deśa* and that a district was named after it.

Khaṇḍa:—The Somavaṁśī inscriptions reveal that *khaṇḍa* was the next lower territorial unit after a *viṣaya*. During this period a *khaṇḍa* constituted a territory which is equivalent with a modern sub-division under a district[26]. We find that during the earlier period *khaṇḍa* was used alongwith a *viṣaya* such as Varada *khaṇḍa viṣaya*, Dakṣiṇa *khaṇḍa viṣaya* and Tāmala *khaṇḍa viṣaya* and the like[27]. Most probably they meant part of a district. The records of the Śulkīs[28] use the word *khaṇḍa* denoting a smaller territory than a *viṣaya*.

We get the names of nine *khaṇḍas* or sub-divisions from the different inscriptions of the period under study. Some of them have been identified and are given in Appendix II. These *khaṇḍas* are—Lupattarā, Uttarāpalli, Abhaparā, Samsarāva, Santolarda, Yamalāḍa, 'Kesalogā, Aṣṭaviṁśa and Kantaradā.

Bhukti:—We come across the word *bhukti*, denoting a certain territorial division under the Somavaṁśīs, only in one inscription. The Mahakosala Historical Society Plates[29] of king Mahābhavagupta record the gift village Pātiliñjira as situated in the *bhukti* of Pṛthura. Here it may be noted that a *bhukti* denoted different territories during different periods. According to Sircar[30] it either denoted a province or a small district of a kingdom. R.C. Majumdar suggests that in eastern India, the word *bhukti* indicated a bigger territorial or administrative unit which included several districts[31]. Altekar thinks that it represented the size of the commissioner's division in modern times[32]. A *bhukti* denoted a larger territory than a *maṇḍala* during the Gupta rule[33], but it denoted a smaller territorial unit than a *maṇḍala* under the Rāśṭrakūṭas[34]. During the Bhauma-kara period a *bhukti* probably corresponded with the area of a *maṇḍala*[35]. It seems that the word *bhukti* denoting a certain territory was not popular with the dynasties of Orissa since we do not find frequent references to this word from the inscriptions of them.

Coming to the word *bhukti* found in the aforesaid record of our period it seems that a *bhukti* during the Somavaṁśī rule denoted a small district. Reference to the words such Tīra *bhukti*[36] and the like, found in the records of our period, are made in connection with the places of migration of the donees.

Grāma:—It was the lowest unit of administration under the Somavaṁśīs. We find the names of a number of villages from the inscriptions of our period. They include the gift villages as well as residential villages of the donees. These villages, some of which have been identified by scholars, are given in Appendix—II.

Some times we come across the word *khaṇḍa-Kṣetra* in some of the records of our period in connection with donation of lands. In these cases a *khaṇḍa-kṣetra* indicates a plot of land or part of a land[37]. It is clear from the Somavaṁśī records, referring to a *khaṇḍa-kṣetra*, that either a village was aparitioned between more than one donees or a plot of land in a village was donated to a donee.

Besides, we get reference to various towns or cities and victory camps in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. Most of these are the places of issue of the royal charters. Some of these places are Suvarṇapura, Vinītapura, Ārāma-*kaṭaka*, Yayātinagara, Śūkara *kaṭaka* and Koleḍā *kaṭaka* etc. We shall be discussing about the capital cities of the Somavaṁśī kings later in Appendix-I. Most of the places, from which the Somavaṁśī Chapters were issued, were the capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom under different rulers. Since the cpaital cities were the seat of the royal authority, they might have formed distinct administrative units by themselves. But we do not get any direct evidence to the above fact from the inscriptions of our period.

Central Administration

Political speculation was continued in this period in the commentaries on *Smṛti* literature as well as independent works on polity and in some later Purāṇas. The commentaries of Medhātithi on Manu, Aparānka, Viśvarupa and Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣara* on Yajñavalkya belong to this period.[38] General works on polity during this period include[39] *Smṛtisārasaṁgraha*, a digest by an unknown author, *Nītisāra* of Kāmaṅdaka, *Laghv-Arhanniti* of Hamacandra etc. Most important among these various works are the commentary of Medhatithi and *Nītisāra* of Kāmaṅdaka.

Medhātithi[40] while repeating the old *Smṛti* view of comprehensive scope of *rājadharma* (Duties of a king), brings out clearly the dominance of the king's public functions. Kāmandaka[41] also emphasises the king's primary function of protecting his subjects. In a nutshell all the above authors point to the kings obligations which include protection of the people and chastisement of the wicked, besides a host of other functions. In Orissa, during this period, the kings of the Somavaṁśa followed, as their contemporaries in other parts of India, the general principle of *rājadharma* as laid down in the different works on polity. This would be clear from our discussion below.

Kings:—During the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa we find the monarchial system of government, in the central administration, which was always headed by a king. Kingship was hereditary, as in other parts of the contemporary India, and in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions the successor usually referred himself as meditating on the feet of his predecessor.[42] Though kingship was hereditary we find instances of selection or election of kings by the ministers and probably the feudatories. From the Banpur Charter of Indraratha it is evident that he was chosen king of Kosala after he defeated and killed Abhimanyu, who had forcibly occupied Kosala, by the blessings of the brāhmaṇas[43] obviously priests or ministers. Again when the country was in anarchical condition, as an aftermath of the Coḷa invasion, the ministers and the feudatories of Kaliṅga, Utkala, Koṅgoda and Kosala elected Yayāti II, a lineal discendent of Janamejaya I, and annointed him as the king.[44] Thus in spite of the hereditary nature of kingship during our period, in time of need, the voices of the ministers and the feudatories prevailed upon in the selection of the next king.

In normal course we find the eldest son of a king ascending the Somavaṁśī throne after him. But when Dharmaratha died childless he was succeeded by his younger brother Nahuṣa or Indraratha on the throne because he was a favourite of Dharmaratha[45], who assigned the throne of Kaliṅga to Indraratha during his life time. We come across instances of the throne being passed to the next members of the family in order of succession from the records of the Somavaṁśī kings. From the Ratnagiri Charter of the last Somavaṁśī king Karṇṇadeva it is known that after Janamejaya II died his eldest son Purañjaya first ascended the Somavaṁśī throne and after him his brother Karṇṇadeva became king[46].

The *Smṛti* literature prescribes for the selection of an heir-apparent during the life time of a king. This was probably followed by the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa for we come across a reference to a *Yuvarāja* or crown prince. The unpublished Nuapatna Plates[47] of *Yuvarājas* Dharmaratha indicate that he was probably declared as the crown prince and heir-apparent to the Somavaṁśī throne during the rule of Janamejaya II. The Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva refer himself as *Kumārādhirāja* which would indicate that he was a prince of the royal blood[48]. It is also evident that princes of royal blood were appointed as governors of certain provinces. From the same record it is known that Abhimanyu, a member of the

Somavaṁśa, was assigned to rule the Kosala province. We have already stated that in a similar instance Indraratha was given the governorship of Kalinga. Thus during our period princes of royal blood were put incharge of the administration of different provinces in the Somavaṁśī kingdom.

Though we do not get any direct evidence to the education of the princes, the short supplement[49] to the 8th regnal year charter of Yayāti I and the Brahmeśvara temple inscription[50] of the time of Udyotakeśarī furnish us with some account of the princes before they became kings. From the former record it is revealed that Yayāti I was associated with his father Janamejaya I in his wars against the Kalacuri kings while the latter record attest to Udyotakeśarī's valour in battles during the rule of his father Yayāti II. Bhīmaratha and Yayāti II have been described in some of the records as learned kings. From these references and the fact that princes of royal blood were appointed as governors of some provinces it can be safely assumed that the princes were given the usual military training and practical administrative training alongwith proper education before they came to shoulder the heavy burden of ruling the country.

The Somavaṁśī kings had the proud title of *Mahārājādhirāja* (king of kings) alongwith other titles such as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramāmaheśvara*, *Parameśvara*, *Kosalendra*, *Kosalādhipati*, *Somakulatilaka* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. From these titles it can be inferred[51] that they were the sovereign monarches over their dominion. The charters of their feudatories also prove their sovereign status. This feature from the Somavaṁśī records can be compared with similar features found in the records of their contemporaries *viz.* the Kalacuris, the Eastern Cālukyas, the Rāśṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas.[52] Most of the above titles seem to be mere honorfic and customary.

We do not come across any reference, in the Somavaṁśī records, to the establishment of a regency during our period. This was due to the fact that the members of the Somavaṁśa ruled in a succession and each member ascended the Somavaṁśī throne not in his prime age.

During our period we find the monarch as the head of both civil and military administration. In the civil administration he enjoyed unlimited authority, being the head of administration and the sole fountain of justice in the country. But at the same time he was guided in his conduct of stately affairs by the principles of *Rājadharma* as laid down in the *Smṛti* literature. The principles of *Rājadharma* bind a king to provide peace and prosperity to his subjects; to protect them from foreign invasion; to maintain social order and please his subjects.[53] A perusal of the inscriptions of our period would reveal that the Somavaṁśī kings did not assert their sovereignty only but were also conscious of their duties and responsibilities to their kingdom and their subjects.

Janamejaya I has been described in the Orissa State Museum Plates of Yayāti I as 'A celebration of splendour (which the world had seen) at the time when the incarnation of the great Yudhiṣṭhira had taken place, a parallel event of exultation had been experienced (by the people) when the royal throne was occupied by the great king Janamejaya whose adorable glory had become a subject of hearty welcome of the public, whose powers and valour and determination are charming (and they have been) based on flawlessness owing to (his) observance of *Śāstras* (or rules prescribed therein); whose commendable personality (and) power had taken the shape of luminary to dispell the gloom caused by the enemies; whose mercy and charity had produced excellent results in all the seven islands (world) (and) who acquired many a great quality or property equal to those of Soma-rāja (the moon) XXX'[54]. The Narasimhapur Charter of Udyotakeśarī and the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, as seen in the previous chapter, inform us about the chaotic condition of the country as a result of the successive invasions of Orissa by three great powers of contemporary India *viz.* the Paramāras, the Coḷas and the Kalacuris and the selection of Yayāti II as king by the ministers of Utkala and Kosala at this hour of crisis. True to the faith reposed upon him, Yayāti II effectively repulsed the enemies and restored order in the kingdom. In addition he carried the banner of the Somavaṁśa into the lands of Karṇāta, Lāṭa, Gurjara, Kāñci, Gauḍa and Rāḍha.[55] In the Khandapara Plates also Dharmaratha is credited with victories over Gauḍa and Āndhra country. He is further mentioned in the Narasimhapur Charter as, "Dharmaratha, the son of the glory of the lunar dynasty, the achiever of the desired object and the only friend of the sword, became the head jewel of all the kings, where the hostile kings retreated to the extremity of the far-off country, being chased by his soldiers marching on *dig-vijaya*, in the course of which the dusts swelled".[56] The above and other such instances from the records of other members of the dynasty would show that the kings of the Somavaṁśa were always alert in thwarting foreign invasions while at the same time they were keen upon extending the Somavaṁśī glory outside their own territories, whenever opportunities came their way. From the above it is also natural to assume safely that the king was the supreme commander of the armed forces. He led the army and engaged himself in actual operation of warfare. We find several instances of Somavaṁśī kings fighting in the battlefields. From Brahmeśvara temple inscription we come to know that Janamejaya killed the king of Oḍra with a spear. Three charters of Yayāti I, the Cuttack Plates of Bhimaratha and the Khandapara Plates of Dharmaratha describe[57] that Yayāti I captured thirty-two big elephants after defeating the protector of the elephant troop and after killing their riders with arrows and rescued the women brought to the elephant troop, obviously for the purpose of being carried away. This event, as seen in the preceding chapter, was the outcome of Yayāti I's battles with the Kalacuri Yuvarāja I. Dharmaratha of the family has been described as leading expeditions against Āndhra and Gauḍa[58] and as a second Paraśurāma because of his personal valour. The Banpur Charter of Indraratha describes that he conquered Oḍra, which was under Abhimanyu by his own valour and with the help of a small infantry. That this king was very powerful and a brave soldier is attested to by the fact that his reign, as shown already, witnessed three successive invasions of Orissa by three great powers of contemporary India. The Tamil sources also reveal the prowess of the Orissan army under the able leadership of Indraratha[59]. We have seen above that Yayāti II carried the Somavaṁśī banner to many countries, obviously after defeating their rulers, and he was called as the *Viśva vijayī* or the conqueror of the world. Instances of Udyotakeśarī's and Janamejaya II's association in wars with contemporary powers are evident from the inscriptions of the family[60]. Thus the king during this period was the supreme commander of the armed forces.

Regarding the economic powers of the Somavaṁśī kings we know from their records that they had the power to fix the revenue of lands and increase or decrease taxation in the State. Most of the gift villages recorded in the Somavaṁśī charters are rent-free holdings given in donation to brāhmins. At the same time we find instances where a nominal revenue was fixed for some donated villages[61]. The mention of different types of taxes in different charters of this period would substantiate the above view that the king had the power of deciding the measure of taxes.

Thus we find the king in our period is virtually a despot, being the head of the civil as well as the military administration. But he was in most cases a benevolent one. The comparison of the kings of our period with gods and mythological figures like Viṣṇu, Madhuṣūdana, Sūrya, Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, Nahuṣa, Māndhātṛ, Dilīpa, Bharata and Bhagīratha would indicate that the Somavaṁśī kings were not despots. Being conscious of their duties and obligations towards their subjects and kingdom they were bent upon looking after the welfare of their subjects. The Jatesinga and Dungrī Plates inform us that Yayāti II, "who was devoted to the works of merit of *Dharma*, caused many men to build many temples of various gods and the *maṇḍapa* (royal pavilion) in the *Ārāma* or park for *vihāra* (Pleasurable recreation) together with *udyāna* or garden."[62] The Sonepur Plates of Janamejaya I, issued in his seventeenth regnal year, reveal that the king donated the village Gottaikelā in the sub-division of Luputurā to a guild of merchants at Suvarṇapura known as Kamalapura *Vaṇika sthāna* for the maintenance of the deities of Keśava and Āditya.[63] We find instances of endowment works carried out during the rule of the other Somavaṁśī kings. In the reign period of Udyotakeśarī the decayed wells and the decayed tanks were cleansed for bathing and drinking and the images of twenty-four Tīrthankaras were installed on the auspicious Kumāra-*Parvata*[64]. The Brahmesvara temple inscription ascribes the consecration of the temple to the 18th regnal year of the king Udyotakeśarīdeva[65]. From two short stone inscriptions we know that a tank was dug during the rule of Udyotakeśarī[66] and a munificent grant, probably for the installation of the image of the Sun God, was given during the rule of Karṇṇadeva[67]. Besides, the existence of a number of temples, assignable to this period, in different parts of present Orissa attest to the endowment works of the kings of the dynasty. The *Mādalā Pāñji* furnishes us with information about the construction of some of the above temples during the rule of Somavaṁśa.

The kings of this dynasty encouraged brāhmins to migrate from out side their kingdom and to settle in their kingdom by liberally donating lands to them. The copper plate charters of the period record these donations to brāhmins who were immigrants, mainly, from places like Madhya *deśa*, Śrāvastī, Rāḍha etc. Besides the above grants to learned brāhmins, the kings of the period encouraged scholars by giving them land grants and appointing them to high offices in the state. The charters of Janamejaya I issued during his 31st regnal years record land grants to one Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mahattama Sādhāraṇa[68]. He is described in the above records as best among the brāhmins and a minister who was a great scholar, 'this understanding being purified by studying the endless sciences of political economy and law, and his speech being sweetened by quotations from the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas, *Śikṣā*, *Kalpa* and *Itihāsa*'[69]. Another great scholar was Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa who flourished during the reign of Udyotakeśarī. He is known to us from the Brahmeśvara temple inscription which he composed. He is described in the same record as 'the best of poets, indited the eulogy, which spreads the white fame of the kings of the lunar line, who was learned in the Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry, logic, etc., and like Brahmā, of true, pure and humble understanding, and born of an innocent family'.[70] Thus the kings of our period performed their religious duties as per the principles of *Rājadharma*. The above mentioned land grants were made on auspicious occasions such as Saṅkrāntis and Solar and Lunar eclipse days.[71] As per the inscriptions they were made generally for the increase of religious and spiritual merits of the donors and their parents.

The Somavaṁśī records are not clear about the description of the royal court of the period. But from the Somavaṁśī records it would seem that princes, Rājaguru or royal preceptor, poets, astrologers, other scholars, civil and military officials, most likely, constituted the royal court. The Kalibhana Grant of 34th regnal year of king Janamejaya I records the donation of Konnapillā village in the district of Tokkara to one Śrī Devu, son of Gāṅgeya. This donee is referred to as a *Kāladeśī* which has been interpreted as an astrologer[72]. From the reference to the two places of residence of the donee it is inferred that he was attached to the king's court[73]. Sādhāraṇa besides being the minister under Janamejaya I was also a great scholar. Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa, as already noted above, was a court poet of king Udyotakeśarī.

Though we do not get any evidence to the position of queens in the royal court it seems that the Somavaṁśī queens had enjoyed certain privileges. Kolāvatī, mother of Udyotakeśarī and wife of Yayāti II, constructed a temple in the honour of lord Brahmesvara at Bhubaneśwar[74]. Another queen referred to in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions was Durgā, the second queen of Bhīmaratha and mother of Indraratha[75]. Thus it is evident that the Somavaṁśī queens were allowed to do charitable and endowment works with the consent of the kings.

Ministry:—The *Smṛti* literature[76] refers to the ministry or an advisory council as an important organ of the government. Though we do not get any actual reference to the existance of a ministry or an advisory council during our period the following evidences from the Somavaṁśī inscriptions would lead us to believe that a ministry constituted the main organ of the Somavaṁśī administration. The Nagpur Museum Plates of Janamejaya I refer to one Sādhāraṇa, son of Sobhana, as *Dūtaka*[77] during the kings eighth regnal year. We find the same person holding the office of *Mantrīn* or minister during the seventeenth year of the kings reign[78]. Again during the thirty-first and thirty-fourth regnal years of the same king Sādhāraṇa is described as *mantrī-tilaka*[79]. The verses in the Kalibhana Grant praise him as an able administrator who shared to a considerable extent the burden of administration of his master. One Netradeva held the posts of *Mantrīn* and *Mahākṣapaṭalika* during the rule of Dharmaratha[80]. The mention of the word *Mantrīn* in the Somavaṁśī records would thus indicate that ministry was a regular feature in the administration of the time. Besides, the word *Mantrī-tilaka*, indicating the Chief Minister[81], would suggest that the ministry or the advisory council was headed by a Chief Minister who was very important in performing the duties of the government. Again the word *Mahā-sandhivigrahi*, the minister for war and peace, frequently referred to in the Somavaṁśī records, would further corroborate our above suggestion.

Thus we see that the ministry in the Somavaṁśī administration generally consisted of a Chief Minister and several other ministers. From the references to Sādhāraṇa found in the charters of Janamejaya I it can be assumed that the Chief Minister shared a heavy burden of the administration next to the king. As such he was probably the most powerful official under the Somavaṁśī administration. The gradual rise in the official position of Sādhāraṇa under Janamejaya I's rule would indicate that the post of Chief Minister or a minister was not hereditary but suitable candidates were selected for appointment to those posts on their individual merit. A *Mantrīn* or minister was the next man in the hierarchy of the government after the Chief Minister. Probably ministers were put incharge of independent departments under the administration as the word *Mahāsandhivigrahi* would indicate. Sometimes a minister remained incharge of another office in addition to his duties[82].

Mahāsandhivigrahi:—The *Mahāsandhivigrahi*, as the word implies, was the minister of war and peace[83] and was probably the head of foreign affairs department. In Somavaṁśī charters we find that the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* sometimes drafted the texts of the copper plate grants. Thus he looked after the foreign affairs department as well as other specific departments in the administration of our period. A.P. Shah thinks that the foreign office had the most up-to-date information regarding the genealogy and exploits of the donee and his family. As such the *Mahāsandhivigrahis* was entrusted with the task of drafting of the copper plate charters[84].

Regarding the function performed by *Mahāsandhivigrahi* and *Sandhivigrahis* under the Somavaṁśī administration. A.M. Shastri has rightly observed thus "that the *Sandhivigrahi* played a very important role in respect of the preparation of the copper plate charters. In several Somavaṁśī records it is stated that the charter was written by the *Kāyastha* attached to the office of the *Mahāsandhivigrahin*, whereas in some records we are told that the grant was written with the knowledge of the latter. Some other grants inform us that they were written by the *Mahākṣapaṭalin* with the permission of the *Mahāsandhivigrahin*, while in a few records the latter is himself mentioned as the writer. There are a few records in which he is mentioned without specifying his role in connection with the execution of the grant, whereas in some other charters after such a vague reference the *Kāyastha* evidently attached to him, is specified as the writer"[84a]. Thus preparation of royal charters was one of the important functions of the office of the *Mahāsandhivigrahi*.

Brāhmins and Kāyasthas were found to be appointed in the above post under the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. Instances of hereditary appointment, as *Mahāsandhivigrahi* during the period, are also to be found from the Somavaṁśī records. Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta, was the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* under Janamejaya I from his sixth regnal year upto atleast thirty-first regnal year[85]. We find Dhāradatta II, who was probably a son of Malladatta and grandson of Dhāradatta I, in the office of *Mahāsandhivigrahi* by the thirty-fourth regnal year of king Janamejaya I[86]. The same person continued in the same office during the reign of Yayāti I, son of Janamejaya I, until atleast the twenty-fourth year of the former's reign[87].

Malladatta, the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* under Janamejaya I was accorded the feudal title of *Rāṇaka* towards the later years of his service under the king[88]. Other feudal titles enjoyed by the *Mahāsandhivigrahis* were *Sāmanta* and *Nāyaka*. Because of these titles A.P. Shah suggests that some of these ministers belonged to the hierarchy of feudal chiefs[89]. It seems that the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* or chief of foreign department was assisted in his work by Sandhivigrahis, who were lower in rank than the former and as such can be compared with Ministers of State in present day cabinet type of governments. The officer *Sandhivigrahika* is referred to in almost all the contemporary records of the Gāhaḍavālas, Cāṇḍellas, Kalacuris, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pālas etc.[90]

Other officers of the central administration mentioned in the records of the Somavaṁśī kings were as follows :

1. *Kumarādhirāja* :— We come across this word in the Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva[91]. From the inscription we know that he was ruling over *Paścima* Laṅkā (western Orissa or a part of it) from his capital at Suvarṇapura. As already stated in the preceding chapter he became governor of Kosala after Abhimanyu. Thus *Kumāra* and *Kumarādhirāja* were princes of royal blood who were put incharge of the administration of certain territorial units.

2. *Mahākṣapaṭalika*:—The next officer in the central administration was the *Mahākṣapaṭalika*. He was the Chief Officer for accounts and records. We also find references to the the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* from the records of the Pālas, the Kalacuris and the Bhauma-Karas[92]. According to Fleet, this was a technical official title denoting the superior officer of the *Akṣapaṭalika* or keeper of the records[93]. We do not come across the office of *Akṣapaṭalika* from the records of our period. Since we come across the references to *Mahākṣapaṭalikas* as writers[94] of some Somavaṁśī charters it can be assumed that it was one of their duties to write the official charters alongwith heading the departments of accounts and records in the state. We also find the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* in the role of engraver. Śrī Ucchava Nāga, son of Allāva Nāga was engraver of the Patna Museum Plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I, issued in his eighth regnal year[95]. The same person has been referred to in the Nibina Charter of the same king; recording his fifteenth year of reign, as the *Mahākṣapaṭalika*[96]. Besides, it seems that at times hereditary appointments were made in the above officer. Allāva of the aforesaid charters has been mentioned as the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* under Janamejaya I[97]. Sānti-

nāga, another member of the family was the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* under Yayāti I during his earlier reign period[98].

From the Khandapara Plates and the charters of Udyotakeśarī we come across the word *Mahākṣapaṭaladhyakṣa*[99] which would indicate that he was Chief Superintending Officer of accounts and records, under the Somavaṁśī administration. Thus it would seem from the above that the accounts and records department was well organised during the period under study and this department worked in close collaboration with the foreign affairs department.

3. *Rājaguru* :—From the Khandapara Plates[100] we know about a *Rājaguru* or royal preceptor. One Sahadeva was the *Rājaguru* of Dharmaratha. From the *Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvyaṁ*[101] of Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadevācārya we know that Bhavadeva was the preceptor of Udyotakeśarī. Thus they were the spiritual guides of the kings. The reference to Sahadeva, the *Rājaguru*, alongwith other officials in the above Somavaṁśī Charter would presuppose the fact that they had some function in regard to the recording and issue of the royal charters.

4. *Pratihāra* :— From the reading of the word *sa-pratiḍārah* occurring in line 31 of the Khandapara Plate S.N. Rājaguru suggests that the present day title of *Pariḍā* had originated from the above[102]. He also suggests the reading as *Pratihāra*, which has been also accepted by S.C. De[103]. The word *Pratihāra*, meaning the Chamberlain or royal door keeper, is not to be found in other Somavaṁśī records. This Office was a common feature in the administration of earlier and later periods in Orissa[104]. It is difficult to say whether such an office existed under the administration of our period owing to lack of other inscriptional evidence.

5. *Dūtaka* :—This office was incharge of executing royal charters and conveying the same to local officials. He was probably a high ranking official of the State since we know that Śādhāraṇa, who held the office of *Dūtaka* earlier, was appointed later as the Chief Minister by Janamejaya I. This feature in Somavaṁśī administration is common with the similar feature in the Gāhaḍavāla and Pāla administrations[105].

Besides, we come across the words such as *Vijñanī*, *Suvarṇakara*, *Kāyastha* and *Sūtradhāra* in the charters of the Somavaṁśī kings. *Vijñanī* was the engraver[106] of copper plate charters, *Suvarṇakara* was the goldsmith, *Sūtradhāra* was the mason[107] and *Kāyastha*, which indicates the title of a caste, was the writer generally attached to the office of the *Mahāsandhivigrahi*. From the references to these minor officials it would seem that they were the residents of the capital and attended their duties in the royal court whenever called upon to do so.

Provincial Administration

The Somavaṁśī records refer to a number of officials who apparently belonged to the administration of corresponding provinces where the donated villages were located. The usual practice in the royal charters was to clearly specify the location of the donated village and then address[108] to the brāhmaṇas (*brāhmaṇaṇ saṁpūjya*) and the community of agriculturists (*tatpratinivāsi —kuṭuṁbijanapadān*) of the donated village, as well as to a number of officials such as *Samāhartṛ*, *Sannidhārtṛ*, *Niyuktādhikārika*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Caṭa*, *Bhāṭa*, *Piśunavetrika* and *Avarodhaiana*. These officials had important roles in the administration of a province under the Somavaṁśī kingdom.

1. *Samāhartṛ* :— Only Somavaṁśī records give us information about this officer in the administrative history of Orissa. The designation *Samāhartṛ* has been accepted as meaning a Collector[109]. According to A.P. Shah his duties most probably consisted in the general supervision and collection of revenue as well as its expenditure[110]. Besides, he suggests that *Samāhartṛ* was probably another member of the ministry. Since as stated above, this office is always referred to in that part of a Somavaṁśī grant where instructions to the officials located in the district or province containing the donated village are given, Samāhartṛ cannot be definitely included in the central administration as a member of the ministry. We have no other knowledge about the office of *Samahartṛ* and his functions.

2. *Saṅnidhārtṛ* :—D.C. Sircar[111] suggests the meaning of this officer as a piler which has been accepted by A.P. Shah[112]. It has been further suggested that he was the treasurer assisting the *Samāhartṛ* in collecting the dues including the kings' share of produce. Thus it seems that these two officers were mainly responsible for the revenue administration of the area where the gift village was located. In all probability there were different *Samāhartṛs* and *Saṅnidhartṛs* for each district under the Somavaṁśī administration as the meaning of their titles would indicate.

Niyuktaka :— We come across reference to this office in the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa (A.D. 871)[113]. Sircar takes him to be the governor of a territorial unit such as the Āyuktaka[114]. Thus a *Niyuktaka* must have been an important official under the Somavaṁśī kings being associated with the administration of land[115].

4. *Adhikārika* :— Always associated with the word of *Niyuktaka*, and *Adhikarika* was a superintendent.[116] He was also associated with *Niyuktaka* in the administration of land. The order of precedence, which occupy in the king's order contained in the inscriptions, would lead us to believe that they were important functionaries in the provincial administration under the Somavaṁśī kings.

5. *Daṇḍapāśika*:—He was probably a police officer whose duty was to maintain law and order and arrest criminals. Sircar[117] thinks that he was a smaller police officer while U.K. Subudhi suggests that he was the chief police officer of a province during the Bhauma-Kara rule in Orissa[118]. The present Oriya *Daṇḍāsi* or *Daṇḍuāsi* has been traced to the word *Daṇḍapāśika* occuring in the inscriptions of the medieval Orissa[119].

6. *Cāṭa and Bhāṭa*:—These two terms are considered to be indicating regular and irregular soldiers[120] respectively who were generally forbidden to enter the area of the gift villages. Sometimes they are considered to be policemen. Sircar calls the Cāṭas and Bhāṭas as Barakandāzas and Paiks, respectively, at one place[121] while referring to the Bhaṭas as royal agents, policemen, watchmen or peons[122] and the *Cāṭa* as a leader of a group of them elsewhere[123]. Thus it seems that the Cāṭas and the Bhāṭas were looking after mainly the law and order problem being in the cadre of militia and the police. This feature in the Somavaṁśī administration was also common to the administration of Orissa under different dynasties as well as the

administration of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal.

7. *Piśuna-Vetrika*:—Opinion differs regarding the interpretation of the above term found in the Somavaṁśī charters. Debala Mitra[124] interprets it as one who canes the wicked while Binayak Misra[125] accepts it as a cruel cane-holder or constable. But Sircar, taking the above term as two words, suggests that *Piśuna* was a spy and *Vetrika* indicated a watchman[126]. But A.P. Shah on the other hand follows the suggestion of Misra and suggests that a *Piśuna-Vetrika* under the Somavaṁśī administration exercīsed certain police functions in connection with the realization of revenue or intimidation of the wicked. However, it is difficult to say anything definite about this office, during our period, at the present state of our knowledge.

8. *Avarodhajana* :—We come across this term only in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions of Orissa. Sircar thinks that *Avarodhajana* indicated the ladies of the harem, probably of higher officials and feudatories[127]. A.P. Shah suggests that 'though they cannot be taken as regular officials, it seems that the ladies of high officials and feudatories also enjoyed some importance in state affairs under the Somavaṁśīs. In other grants the queen is addressed, but here women of feudatories and officials are also included. This may be due to the matriarchal influence of the tribal people in Kosala'[128]. The above suggestion seems to be a mere hypothesis without any other evidence to substantiate it. It is not possible to throw more light on the office of the *Avarodhajana* if such an office existed over under the Somavaṁśī administration in Orissa.

In addition to the above we get references to *Maṇḍalapati*, *Viṣayapati*, *Khaṇḍapati* and *Nāyaka* as different offices from the Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva. Besides, the Degaon Plates[129] of Mugdhagondaladeva reveal the titles *māṇḍalika* and *māṇḍalādhipati*; and the Kudopali grant[130] informs us about the title *Pañcadaśapallikādhipati*. The *maṇḍalapati*, *māṇḍalika* and *manḍalādhipati* indicate the governor of a *maṇḍala*, which as already discussed above, roughly corresponded with a modern Revenue Commissioner's Division. A *Viṣayapati* was the officer incharge of a district. The title *Bisoyi* or *Bisoi*, used by a certain class of people in present Orissa was probably a corrupt form of *Viṣayapati*. The *Khaṇḍapati* was incharge of a sub-division and the *Nāyaka* was probably the village head. *Nāyaka* as a title is still current in Orissa. Most of the above officers enjoyed considerable revenue and other administrative powers over their respective territories and were important functionaries of the provincial administrative set up. Besides, the references to them, found in the above charters, indicate their prevalence in the territories under the feudatory rulers and their late incorporation in the Somavaṁśī administration. The Degaon Plates refer to the word *Ghaṭṭapala* which probably indicated an officer incharge of the ferries.

In the king's order to various officials, found in the Somavaṁśī charters in connection with the gift villages, we come across a set of titles indicating the feudal status of the officials. They are *Rāṇaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājñī*, *Rājavallabha* and *Bhogījana*. Among these titles *Rājaputra* has been found used in Indian inscriptions of ancient and medieval period in different sense. According to Sircar *Rājaputra* indicates, possibly, noblemen as in the Pāla records[131]. As per his suggestion the titles of *Rāutta*, *Rāuta*, *Rāhutta*, etc., which were used as titles of nobility of Orissa in later period, were derived from *Rāvata*, which in turn was modified from Sanskrit *Rājaputra*[132]. *Rājavallabha* has been accepted as meaning the favourites of kings. Thus, apart from Rāṇaka *Rajaputra*, *Rajñī* and *Rājavallabha* were royal favourites who could not have been rewarded except in the usual way of being favoured with villages[133]. *Bhooījana*, which is distinct only in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions, would indicate that he enjoyed a rent free holding, probably, in lieu of some administrative duties[134]. In fact all the above mentioned officiers, most probably, discharged some administrative duties is lieu of their rent-free holdings in the state.

Judiciary

From the records of our period we do not get any direct evidence to the judiciary in the state. But the accepted meaning and function of some of the officials mentioned in these records would show that there was no separate department of justice under the Somavaṁśī administration in Orissa. Instead other officials under the administration were vested with some judicial powers. As such it can be said that the executive and judiciary were combined under a single authority during our period.

As already stated the king was probably the highest authority in the state to dispense with justice to the people. Comparision with gods, mythological figures and eulogical references to them, as recorded in the inscriptions, would suggest that the Somavaṁśī kings were ruling the subjects as per the principles laid down in Smṛtiśāstras. As such they must have been giving proper justice to the people in matters of legal disputes.

In the same manner Princes of royal blood, who were appointed as governor of different provinces, may be considered to be the highest judicial authority in their respective provinces. The other executive authorities vested with judicial powers were the *māṇḍalika* or *maṇḍalādhipati*, *Viṣayapati* and *Khaṇḍapati* all being the head of their respective territorial units. Other official with allied functions and duties, who probably had something to do with the dispensation of justice to the subjects, were *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Cāṭa*, *Bhāṭa* and *Piśuna-vetrika*.

Revenue

Some information about the revenue system under the Somavaṁśī kings are available from their records. The inscriptions generally record the details of the boundary of the gift village, the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee in respect of the sources, of revenue of the village, and freedom from levy of different taxes.

We come across two types of *śasanas* or royal charters during our period. They are *dāna-śāsana* recording gifts and *kara-śāsana* recording a revenue paying grant. While the former are more in number we have only four charters in the latter category. These are the two charters[135] of Janamejaya I's sixth regnal year, the newly discovered Kamalpur Plates of Karṇṇadeva's time and the Degaon Grant of Janamejaya I's time. From the above it can be safely assumed that royal land was divided into two categories during this period. They were rent-free holdings and revenue paying lands. In the first category we find the gift villages to learned brahmins and land possessed by the officers of the State and feudal chiefs. From the records of Janamejaya I's time we know that some time royal officers were granted land, probably, in lieu of the service rendered by them. Besides, other officials and favourities of the kings, with their titles of *Rājaputra*, *Rāṇaka*, *Rājñī*, *Rājavallabha* and *Bhogījana* enjoyed the rent free holdings in the State. We have also instances where rent free land was donated to religious establishments. In the second category villages were donated to learned brāhmiṇs for nominal revenue charges fixed per annum. All other types of land was probably under private ownership and the private owners of land were most likely, required to pay to the royal exchequer various taxes on the products from the land and some sort of revenue for the land.

The Somavaṁśī records vaguely describe the boundaries of the gift villages giving at places details of the landmarks such as rivers, trees, etc. From this is evident that some sort of revenue settlement was followed and revenue records regarding boundaries of villages and other larger units were kept in the royal court, probably, under the supervision of the *Mahākṣapaṭalikas*.

Regarding the sources of revenue we come across certain fiscal expressions in the Somavaṁśī charters which give us an indication about the system of revenue and taxation under the Somavaṁśī kings. The charters record the privileges to be enjoyed by the donees in respect of taxes and revenue collected from the gift villages. *Kara-bhoga-bhāga*, *Uparikara*, *Hiranya* and *nidhi-upanidhi* are some of the revenue terms denoting the privileges found used in the Somavaṁśī records. The use of the words *Kara*, *Bhavisyata-kara-sahita* in the above records establishes the fact that taxation was prevalent during the period. Thus it can be said that the sources of revenue during this period, mainly consisted of the rent from land, both royal and private, various taxes imposed from time to time upon different products from land and taxes of other nature. We give below the different types of taxes as revealed from the Somavaṁśī records.

1. Kara-bhoga-bhāga:— The Somavaṁśī records mention the term *Kara-bhoga-bhāga* or *Kara-nikara-bhoga-bhāga* as one of the privileges which was generally transferred to the donee alongwith the gift village. Scholars give different interpretation to the above term. Fleet[136] considers *bhāga-bhoga* as a single fiscal term and gives its meaning as enjoyment of taxes or shares. R.S. Tripathy[137] on the other hand takes *bhoga-bhāga-kara* to be indicating three different taxes, namely the *bhāga* (share of the produce), *bhoga* (enjoyment of certain rights by the landlord when the land lies fallow) and *kara* (rent proper payable in cash or kind). D.C. Sircar interprets *bhāga* as the king's share of produce and *bhoga* as the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers etc. which the villagers had to furnish the king[138].

We find the term *bhoga-bhāga-kara*, slightly different from, *kara-bhoga-bhāga*, in the records of the Rāstrakūtas, the Cālukyas, the Paramāras, the Kalacuris and the Gāhaḍavālas[139]. Thus the above term occuring in the Somavaṁśī records indicated more than one taxes. A.P. Shah suggests that they were land tax levied by the government[140].

2. *Uparikara*:—Only the records of the Bhauma-karas and the Somavaṁśīs refer to this term. This term has also been variously interpreted by scholars. Fleet[141] and Ghosal[142] consider it as a tax imposed upon the temporary tenants. D.C. Sircar[143] and Mirashi[144] accept it as an additional tax or extra cess. The literal meaning of the term also suggests that it was an additional tax as distinguished from the *kara-bhoga-bhāga* or the regular tax of the period.[145]

3. *Hiraṇya*:—This term is frequently mentioned only in the records of our period. Sircar[146] takes it to be the royal share of certain crops paid in cash. Ghosal[147] also considers it as a tax in cash levied upon certain special kings of crops as distinguished from the tax in kind which was charged upon the ordinary crops. Other scholars[148] think it to be a tax on the hoard or capital or the right of the state to gold and probably other mines as well[149]. But the view held by Sircar and Ghosal seems to be more appropriate in this regard. Thus *hiraṇya* may be considered as a levy in cash.

4. *Nidhi-upanidhi*:—These two terms mean buried treasure and excess deposit respectively and they are referred to in the records of our period. From the *Smṛti*[150] literature we know that the king was entitled to a fairly large share of the treasure trove except when they were discovered by a Brāhmaṇa. Thus *nidhi* (treasure trove) and *Upanidhi* (deposits) constituted another source of revenue under the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa.

The expression *Catuṇ-sīmā paryvantaḥ-sāmra-madhuka-sagartoṣaraḥ-sajalasthalaḥ*, found in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions, has been taken as indicating the king's right over all the sources of the villages such as the mango, *tāla* (*borassus flabellifer*) and *madhuka* (*bassia latifelia*) trees; the ditches, drains, trenches and barren land; marshy or plain land and water reservoirs of the villages[151]. Besides, as revealed from the Narasimhapur Charter[152] of Udyotakeśarī, sometimes parts of a river were transferred to the donee as his privilege. This would indicate that the right over fishing was originally vested with the king. From the Degaon Plates we come to know about the word *Pāṣāṇa* which probably indicated the right to lease out stone quarries, which was transferred to the donee alongwith the gift village as one of the privileges to be enjoyed by him.

From the Somavaṁśī inscriptions we come across a number of taxes or dues of uncertain character. In the earlier period of the dynasty we come across references to the above fiscal expressions of *kara-bhoga-bhāga*, *hiraṇya*, *uparikara* and *nidhi-upanidhi*. But starting from the reign period of Dharmaratha[153] new taxes were included in the list of privileges transferred to the donee. These are unknown in the grants of other dynasties of Orissa.[154] These are *andhāruā*, *padātijivya*, *hastīdaṇḍa*, *varāvalī varddorindola* and *adattā*. Further new taxes are known from the reign period of Udyotakesārī[155]. These are *varavalavaṇḍa*, *coṭala*, *pratyāndharuā*, *ahidaṇḍa*, *antarāvaddi*, *vandhadaṇḍa*, *vijaya vandāpanā* and *māggaṇika* *Padātijivya* of the former record is expressed as *padātijiva* in the later record. A further list of taxes is added to the above from the Sonepur Plates[156] of Kumāra Someśvaradeva and the Ratnagiri Charters[157] of Karṇṇadeva. They are *suvarṇadaṇḍa*, *vandapana*, *hastīdanta*, *vāghacama* (*vyāghra carma* in Sanskrit), *rintakavaddi*, *vasāvaki*, *viṣayāli* and *haladaṇḍa*.

Some of the above terms indicating different taxes have been explained by scholars in the following manner :—

1. *Hastidaṇḍa*:—According to Debala Mitra[158] and Sircar [158a] it may mean taxes on the maintenance of elephants. B. Misra[159] and A.P. Shah[160] consider it to be the right of killing elephants.

2. *Ahidaṇḍa*:—It is taken to mean a tax imposed on snake charmers by Debala Mitra while B. Misra interprets it as the right to kill snakes. Sircar considers it to be a professional tax on the maintenance of snakes[161].

3. *Bandha-daṇḍa*:—It has been taken as meaning the power to convict and punish.

4. *Varāvalīvardda*:—Mitra considers it as a tax on the maintenance of superior bulls. A.P. Shah on the other hand suggests that it meant supply of bulls etc. for conveyance to royal agents.

5. *Padātijivya*:—Mitra thinks that it indicated subsistence for the infantry. Shah further elucidates saying that the people had to contribute taxes towards maintaining infantry in the state by supplying provisions to them when they passed through the country side[162].

6. *Vandāpanā and Vijayavandāpanā*:—According to Mitra they indicate tribute to a king and tribute to the king after a victory respectively. But Mishra considers *vijayavandāpanā* as the right of receiving presents on the occasion of welcome.

7. *Suvarṇa daṇḍa*, *Hala daṇḍa*, *Vyāghra carmu* may indicate taxes on the possession of gold, maintenance of ploughs and right to kill tigers. *Adattā* has been taken to mean interest on fines on arrears[163]. *Mārggaṇika* which seems to be synonymous with the word *Mārgaṇaka*, found in the records of the Pratihāras and the Cālukyas of Gujarat, was probably a tax levied by the king on ceremonial occasions[164]. It is difficult to say anything about the other taxes mentioned above.

Apart from the aforesaid records of Janamejaya I, wherein we find references to the words *Rupya-pla*, no other Somavaṁśī record reveals anything about the existence of a coinage system during the period. Numismatic finds of the period are also not available as yet. As such it is probable that minting coins was not popular during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. It is possible, on the other hand, that *cowrie* shells were used as medium of exchange alongwith gold and silver generally referred to as metallic money, (probably in the shape of dust or lumps). In the absence of a currency it is natural to assume that payments for services rendered and collection of revenue and other taxes were made mostly in kind. We have seen already that state officials were given land grants in lieu of their services.

Thus we see that the sources of revenue under the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa consisted of mainly rent from lands and different types of taxes imposed from time to time. It seems that the expenditure of the state during the period under discussion mainly centred round religious and welfare works such as donation of land to individuals and religious establishments, expenditure on the construction of temples, wells, gardens, pavilions, ponds, towns and restoration work of the above. Part of the revenue was probably spent on the army and other defence organisations and establishments. Besides, expenses on royal establishments and payment to officials were most probably made from the general revenue of the state.

Military Administration

The military organisation was no doubt strong and efficient under the Somavaṁśī kings for we find that beginning their rule from a small territory around Sonepur they could bring the whole of the area denoting Orissa of present times under their control. During this period the king was at the head of the military organisation and also the chief commander of the armed forces. As already stated above, the king in our period led the army during wars and fought himself on the battle fields. We do not come across the names of other military officials from the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. In such a case it seems possible that the Mahāsandhi-vigrahis or the ministers for war and peace had something to do with the military system of the time.

According to Altekar "the Indian armies in the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas had ceased to be *caturaṅga*, for chariot as a fighting force was not used in our time".[165] This also holds good for the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. Though the word *caturaṅga* occurs in the recently discovered Degaon Plates of Janamejaya I's time, yet during this period we find that the army only consisted of three wings *viz.* infantry, cavalry and elephants. This is supported by the epigraphical and archaeological evidences. In the Brahmeśvara temple inscription it is stated that 'Udyotakeśarī defeated the whole force of his enemies of Ḍāhala, Coḷa and Gauḍa, as it were, in child's play, with the help of well-armed warriors and elephants and he made the earth (tortoise) sink with the weight of the swift marches of his army, *akṣauhiṇī* in number, and was victorious and made a large number of kings bow down at his feet'.[166] From the Banpur Charter it is also known that Indraratha by his own strength and valour acquired Oḍra even though he had a small infantry to rely upon[167]. From the above two references it is possible to infer that the infantry under the Somavaṁśī king was very strong and effective. Sculptural panels from temples like Brahmeśvara and Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar show procession of war elephants and horses alongwith armed infantry men.

The above word *akṣauhiṇī*, which indicated the complete army, usually consisted of 21,870 *pattis* as per the theories regarding the composition of traditional Indian armies. The same theories refer the basic unit of the Indian army as a *patti* consisting of one elephant, one chariot, three horses, and five foot soldiers. This, according to A.L. Basham, is exaggerated and doubtful[168]. However, it seems that infantry, cavalry and elephant forces, mainly, constituted the Somavaṁśī army.

Sometimes we find that navy, spies, pioneers and commissariat were considered to be other divisions of the Indian army. But we do not come across any reference to their existence during the period under study, except perhaps the spies. The word *Piśuna*, occuring in the expression *Piśuna-vetrika* and found from the Somavaṁśī inscriptions, has been explained as a spy.[169] In such a case it is possible that the Somavaṁśīs had spies as a regular feature in their military organisations. We have seen already that *cāṭa* and *bhāṭa* of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions indicated regular and irregular troops respectively. They probably constituted the infantry in the Somavaṁśī army. The feudatory chiefs were also expected to supply fighting forces to the imperial army during wars. The *bhāṭa* or the irregular troop was probably a reserve force, called upon to do duty for the country in times of need.

It seems that the infantry was the best and well organised in the Somavaṁśī army and it comprised the core of the fighting forces. The aforesaid verses from the Banpur Charter and the Brahmeśvara temple inscription support our above suggestion. In the second place was the elephant forces. Regarding the elephants employed in war writes Basham, "They were trained with great care and attention, and, marching in the van of the army, acted rather like tanks in modern warfare, breaking up the enemy's ranks and smashing palisades, gates, and other defences; a line of elephants might also act as a living bridge for crossing shallow rivers and streams. Elephants were often protected by leather armour, and their tusks, tipped with metal spikes. As well as the *mahout* of the elephant usually carried two or three soldiers, armed with bows, javelins and long spears, and advanced with a small detachment of infantry to defend it from attack".[170] The cavalry under the Somavaṁśī army was perhaps, not well organised and upto the standard because we do not find any specific reference to the cavalry from the inscriptions of the period.

From the stone sculptures of the period we come to know about different weapons. The cult images such as Durgā, Cāmuṇḍā and Bhairava and some of the Tāntric Buddhist deities of the period are represented with an assortment of different weapons in their hands. The weapons such as trident, *vajra* or thunderbolt, mace, discus etc. were some of the weapons taken from mythological accounts. But other weapons *viz.* sword, shield, bow, dagger, spear, goad, etc. probably, reflect the arms and armaments of the period which were actually used on the battle fields. From the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja it is revealed that Benares, Magadha, Nepal, Saurāṣṭra and Kaliṅga were noted Centres for the manufacture of swords[171]. Verse 6 of the Narasimhapur charter states that "His (Nahuṣas) rod like hand, being adorned with the tongue of (double edged) sword, resembled the snake when it took the air separated from the throat of enemy's soldiers (who are slain)"[172]. From the Brahmeśvara temple inscription it is known that Janamejaya I killed the king of Oḍra with a *kuṇta* (spear). We come across a sculptural representation of a double-bladed sword in the Gaurī temple[173]. Besides, the dagger or the short sword and its varieties are represented in a number of sculptures of the period. According to R.L. Mitra this weapon seems to have been a great favourite with the people of Orissa[174]. We also come across different types of shields from the sculptures of the period. They are round ones and elongated or rectangular shaped ones. Some of the panels, showing hunting scenes,[175] depict the bow as a main weapon. Thus the main arms and armaments used by the Somavaṁśī army were sword of different varieties, bow, spear and short swords or daggers.

The soldiers in the Somavaṁśī army were, probably, granted rent free lands in lieu of their services. Some times they were also paid in cash, which was in the shape of metallic money or *cowrie* shells. Besides, as seen already, the term *Padātijiva* or *Padātijivya*, of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions was a sort of subsistence for the infantry which was collected from the people in the shape of provisions to the foot soldiers when they passed through the countryside.

We do not come across any reference to the existence of forts during the period as yet. But it is possible that the Somavaṁśī kings had forts as a feature in their defence organisation.

Feudatories

As stated earlier, part of the Somavaṁśī kingdom comprised the territories of their feudatories. These feudatories enjoyed considerable autonomy over their territories while owing allegiance to the Somavaṁśī kings. The titles of *Rāṇaka*, *Rājaputra*, etc., found in the charters of the Somavaṁśī kings, probably, referred to their feudatories. Besides, the few copper plate grants issued by different feudatory rulers during the period, would prove their autonomous status.

The recently discovered Degaon Copper Plate Grant[176] furnishes us with evidence to show that a Rāṣṭrakūṭa family ruled as a feudatory power during the reign of Janamejaya I. From the reading of the text of this grant it is evident that Janamejaya I had a number of feudatory rulers. The particular line of the text reads: "*sāmanta cakra-śirasā-paricumvitāmghreḥ*". The donor of this grant was one Mugdhagandola Deva, son of *Māṇḍalika Śrīmat* Bālatuṅga and grandson of *Māṇḍalika Śrīmat* Khaḍgaśiva who, belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty that hailed from Lattalaurapura. He has been described in the inscription as ruling from Śūkarakaṭaka of unknown identity and donating the village Kiraṅkela located in the Telātaṭa *viṣaya*. We find references to the above *viṣaya* from two records of Yayāti I, son of Janamejaya I, issued in his 24th and 28th[177] years. In both the records the donated villages, *Delādeligrāma* and lutturumā respectively, are stated to have been located in the *Telātaṭa viṣaya*. This would indicate that the same *viṣaya* was brought under the control of the central administration from the feudatory power during the rule of Yayāti I, successor of Janamejaya I. The Degaon Grant further reveals that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was ruling over a small principality, recorded in the inscription as Parakula *maṇḍala*, around the river Tel in the present Bolangir district of Orissa during the early Somavaṁśī rule. We come across another feudatory ruler *Rāṇaka* Puñja of the Māṭhara family from the Kudopali Plates[178]. In this inscription Mahābhavagupta has been referred to as the overlord of the above king. This Mahābhavagupta has been identified with Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha. The inscription describes the donor as the overlord of Bamanda or modern Bamra in the Sundergarh district with the titles of *Māṇḍalika* and *Rāṇaka*.

Yet another feudatory ruler was *Rāṇaka Śrī* Jayāraṇṇama or Jayarṇṇama of the Mahārāṣṭra family (*Mahārāṣṭrāmala-kulātilaka*). He is known to us from the recently discovered Kamalpur Copper Plate Grant[179] issued during the seventh regnal year of Karṇṇadeva, the last Somavaṁśī ruler in Orissa. *Rāṇaka* Jayārṇṇava was a feudatory chief ruling over the Koleḍā *maṇḍala* or the area around present Kulada in the district of Ganjam. The single copper plate from Mahada[180] also indicates that it was issued by a feudatory ruler under the overlordship of Udyotakeśarīdeva. But this single plate, the second plate of a set of three, unfortunately does not record the name of the donor.

The above records directly refer to the feudatories under different rulers of the Somavaṁśa. Though there is no direct evidence, it is likely that the later members of the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakoṭa, Vañjulvaka and Gaṅgas of Śvetaka recognised the sovereignty of Somavaṁśa. We have stated above that the Somavaṁśī kingdom comprised of the whole of present Orissa and the Midnapore region of West Bengal. The Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakoṭa and Gaṅgas of Śvetaka were continuously ruling, respectively, over the present Mayurbhanj district of Orissa and parts of Midnapore, and Chikiti area in the Ganjam district since the time of the Bhauma-karas as feudatory powers[181]. It is thus natural to assume that they remained so during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. Besides, archaeological evidences in the shape of temples and sculptures from Mayurbhanj show close affinity with the Somavaṁśī art and architecture indicating that there was close contact between the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅgakoṭa and the Somavaṁśī rulers, obviously as feudatory and sovereign powers.

We find that the feudatories under the Somavaṁśī power used the titles of *Rāṇaka*, *Māṇḍalika*, *Mahāmandaleśvara*, *Pañcadaśapallikā-dhipati* and *Maṇḍalādhipati* alongwith the epithets of *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramavaiṣṇava*, *Samadhigata Pañcamahāsabda*, etc. The use of these titles show their semi-independent status. Further the aforesaid records prove that they enjoyed considerable autonomy and were free to issue charters under their own authority. Thus they were to be considered as subordinate allies of the Somavaṁśī kings. They were expected to help the sovereign authority in time of wars by supplying fighting forces to the imperial army. In return they were allowed to rule independently over their territories which very often were no bigger than a small division. Besides, they were allowed to enjoy rent-free holdings. Sometimes the kings of the Somavaṁśa created feudal chiefs from among their courtiers and officials belonging to different castes, by conferring upon them various feudal titles. But we have not yet come across any such official who later issued grants as a feudatory power. Absence of any direct evidence, showing the later Bhañja and Śvetaka Gaṅga allegiance to the Somavaṁśī power, would lead us to believe that they were virtually independent powers recognising the Somavaṁśī authority in theory only. Besides, it seems that not a single feudatory power, mentioned above, could continue to hold their position under the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa for more than one generation.

Thus the feudatories, during the period, formed an important feature in the Somavaṁśī administration and were practically independent and responsible for the administration of their respective territories.

SOCIETY

Archaeology and contemporary literature constitute the main source material for the study of the social conditions during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. The various temples and sculptures, assignable to the Somavaṁśī period; the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī kings and their feudatories; and contemporary literature such as *Pramoda-candrodaya Nāṭakam*, *Bhāśvati*, *Satānanda Saṁgraha*, *Yuktikalpataru*, *Mānasollāsa*, etc., furnish us with facts on various social aspects of the period under study.

During this period the social structure in Orissa was based on the age old system of four classes or *varṇas* as in other parts of the contemporary India. The commentaries and digests on the Smṛtis of this period deal with the rights and duties as well as the status of each of the four *varṇas viz. brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* and *śūdra*. Epigraphic evidences of the period also indicate the position of the main classes and castes in the Somavaṁśī society of Orissa.

Brāhmaṇa:—The brāhmaṇas or the priestly class occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy during our period. This is evident from the respect shown to them even by the ruling classes. In the inscriptions of this period we find the grant portions, generally, beginning with a salutation to the brāhmaṇas of the donated village.[182] Munificent grants of land to the learned brāhamaṇas were thought to confer spiritual merits on the donor and his parents.[183] The brāhmaṇas were considered to be the spiritual and religious leaders in the society. They were respected for their devotion to the study of scriptures and pious life style. Such brāhmaṇas enjoyed the privilege of being the recipient of land which were made free from all taxes.

It seems that the study and teaching of Vedas and performance of religious rites and vedic sacrifices, as laid down in the Smṛtis, constituted the main functions performed by the brāhmaṇas.[184] We also come across a number of brāhmin scholars during this period. Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mahattama Sādhāraṇa of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Bhāradvāja, Bārhaspatya and Aṅgiraśa *pravara* and a student of Vājasaneya *śākhā* has been described as a great scholar well versed in *Arthaśāstra* (political economy), *Smṛti* (law), *Veda*, *Vedāṅga*, *Śikṣā*, (education), *Kalpa* and *Itihāsa* (history). He is further depicted as the incarnation of Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of gods.[185] Another *brāhmaṇa*, Bhaṭṭaputra Devu, who was granted the village Konnepillā in the Tokkāra district by Janamejaya I, was a *kāladeśin* or an astrologer.[186] Sahadeva has been described in the Khaṇḍapara Plates[187] as the *Rājaguru* or royal preceptor of king Dharmaratha. Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa, who composed the text of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, has been described in the same inscription as the best among poets, comparable with the *Suraguru* Bṛhaspati for his erudition.[188] Bhavadeva has been referred to in the *Bhaktibhāgavata Mahākāvyam*[189] as the preceptor of king Udyotakeśarī. Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the author of *Prabodhacandrodaya Nāṭakaṁ*, and Satānanda who wrote *Bhāśvati* were good scholars. Thus in the literary field the brāhmaṇas had no rivals.

We have also instances of brāhmaṇas occupying highest position in the civil administration of the state. Sādhāraṇa, probably by virtue of his scholarship, first, held the position of *Dūtaka*. Later he rose to the position of *Mantri-tilaka* or Chief Minister under the administration of king Janamejaya I. But in our period we do not find brāhmaṇas pursuing a military career or in the role of a warrior. Thus brāhmaṇas in the Somavaṁśī society pursued only religious and administrative vocations.

The importance of the brāhmaṇas during the period is evident from the Tirumalai Rock inscription of Rājendra Coḷa I and the Banpur Charter of Indraratha. In the former record Kosala was described as the place where good brāhmaṇas lived[190]. The later record reveals that Indraratha after killing Abhimanyu, who had occupied Kolasa and harassed the people, became the lord of Kosala by the blessings of the brāhmaṇas[191]. Thus it would seem that it was important to get religious sanction and recognition from the *brāhmaṇa* class before becoming the king of the country. This proves that the brāhmaṇas occupied a superior position than the ruling class in society during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.

The evidence found in the above Coḷa record is substantiated by the evidences furnished by the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. These inscriptions reveal that brāhmaṇas were encouraged by the Somavaṁśī kings to come and settle inside the Somavaṁśī kingdom with liberal grants of land. The identification of the gift villages* referred to in the Somavaṁśī charters would lead us to assume that a majority of the *brāhmaṇa* donees were settled, mainly, in Kosala or present Sambalpur-Sonepur region of Orissa. Further, from the inscriptions of this period it is known that Madhyadeśa and Śrāvastī *maṇḍala* were the main places of emigration. Other less important places of emigration were Rāḍha, Gauḍa and Tīrabhukti *maṇḍala.*

Of the above places Madhyadeśa is generally identified with the central part of Northern India[192]. Śrāvastī or Śrāvasti *maṇḍala* was located in ancient Kosala country in Madhyadeśa and identified by scholars,[193] with the Set-Mahet region in the Gonda and Bahraich districts of present Uttar Pradesh. Orthodox brāhmaṇas of Orissa still claim Kānyakubja or modern Kanauj in U.P. as their original homeland. A tradition of Orissa has it that Yayāti Keśarī had brought ten thousand brāhmaṇas from Kānyakubja for the performance of the *Daśāśvamedha* or ten-fold horse sacrifice at Jajpur. A bathing ghat still exists at Jajpur on the bank of the river Vaitaranī (Pl. 15) with broad stone steps, alongwith a sacrificial altar nearby, which are generally assigned to the rule of Yayāti II of the Somavaṁśa[194].

Thus, epigraphical evidences as well as traditional accounts point to the fact that during the rule of the Somavaṁśī over Orissa a large number of brāhmaṇas migrated from the Ganga-Yamuna doab to Orissa, where they were allowed to settle. Sircar draws our attention to similar instances of migration of brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa to North Bengal[195].

We do not come across any sub-castes in the *brāhmaṇa* class of the society under the Somavaṁśīs. But the age old brāhmaṇic institutions of gotras and pravaras were the marks of distinction recognised among the brāhmaṇas during this period. While *gotra* indicated the lineage or the family, the *pravara* was probably named after some illustrious teacher or ancestor who had contributed to the prestige of the family[196]. From the inscriptions of our period mainly we come across the following gotras and pravaras respectively.

* See Appendix II

"Kauṇḍinya, Parāśara, Kautsa, Gautama, Agastī, Kauśika, Vatsa, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Kapiñjala, Gārga, Jātukarna, Kumāra Hārita, Kṛṣṇātreya, Ātreya."

"Maitra or Mitra, Varuna, Vaśistha, Śakti, Parāśara, Angiraśa, Ambāriṣa, Yauvanāśva, Idhnavāha, Aṇḍala, Devarāta, Viśvāmitra, Autathya, Bhārgava, Cyavana, Apnuvān, Aurva, Yamadgni, Vārhaspatya, Kāśyapa, Vatsa, Naidhruva, Bhāradvāja, Ātreya."

Besides, during this period the surnames, (family and personal names) based on the original residence, had also probably not come into vogue. We find the brāhmaṇas only using different titles, which probably indicated their rank and scholarship[197]. These appellations are Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭaputra, Śrī, Mahattama, Bhaṭṭa-brahmaṇa, *Rāṇaka*, and Śarmaṇa. We come across the surnames of Kara, Nāga and Dikṣita borne by the donees. Among these, Kara is found used by a number of the donees of the Somavaṁśī charters. These surnames, probably, were based on certain vocations followed by the brāhmaṇas bearing them. These early medieval surnames still survive in Orissa and found used by certain categories of brāhmaṇas. The title *Rāṇaka*[198] would indicate that some brāhmaṇas had feudatory titles and probably enjoyed the privileges and status as due to a feudatory.

Kṣatriya:—The second class in the Somavaṁśī social structure was the ruling class, the members of which were known since the post Vedic period as the Kṣatriyas. As stated earlier, the members of the Somavaṁśa were kṣatriyas and belonged to the lunar race[199]. Besides, we know about other ruling families, under the Somavaṁśī suzerainty, who must have belonged to the *kṣatriya* class. They were the Māthara,[200] the Rāṣṭrakuṭa[201] and the Mahārāṣṭra *kula*[202]. The Bhanjas of Khinjaḷi *maṇḍala* and Khijjinga-*kotta*, who probably owed allegiance to the Somavaṁśīs, also belonged to this class. S.N. Rajaguru[203] suggests that the Māṭhara family of *Rāṇaka* Śrī Puñja had, probably, originated from the well known Māthara dynasty (fouth-fifth century A.D.) of Kalinga. Mughagondaladeva of the Degaon Plates, belonging to the Rāṣṭrakuṭa family claims Latalaurapura or present Latur as the family's original homeland, thereby showing the family's connection with the Rāṣṭrakuṭa's of Deccan. The Kamalpur Copper Plates of king Jayārnava describe him as belonging to the Mahārāṣṭra *kula* about which nothing more is known except that this family, too, had hailed from the Deccan.

During this period kṣatriyas had matrimonial relationship with other *kṣatriya* families. From the Baud Plates[204] of Tribhuvana Mahādevī we know that she was the daughter of *Svabhāvatuṇga alias* Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya I of the Somavaṁśa and wife of the Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva IV. Thus the Bhauma-karas of Utkala and their successors, the Somavaṁśīs, were matrimonially connected together during the last part of the ninth century A.D. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription[205] describes that Kolāvatī, the mother of Udyotakeśarī, was a princess of the solar race and the chief queen of the lunar race—the chief queen of Mahāśivagupta IV Yayāti-II. The word chief queen from the above inscription would lead us to believe that kṣatriyas of our period usually had more than one wife. This was a privilege they enjoyed in the society with religious sanction. The Banpur Charter[206] also attest to the above fact in describing that Bhīmaratha had a second queen named Durgā from whom was born Indraratha.

Further the kṣatriyas of our period probably could marry with persons below their class which was sanctioned by the Smṛti literature. The Ratnagiri Charter[207] of Karṇṇadeva, the last Somavaṁśī king, reveals that he had donated the village Koṇa *grāma* in Uttara Tosalī to *Rāṇī* Śrī Karpuraśrī who has been described as the daughter of Māhārima Huṇadevī and grand-daughter of Udayamati. This female pedigree of the donee has led the scholars to assume that *Rāṇī* Śrī Karpuraśrī hailed from a family of professional dancers[208]. Accordingly it can be said that Karṇṇadeva had married a girl, who was socially below his class.

Apart from enjoying the above privileges in marriage relations, the *kṣatriya* class generally held most of the civil and military offices of the state. Important positions such as *Yuvarāja*, provincial governorship, commander of the armed forces etc. were held by the members of the Somavaṁśī ruling family. Generally the kṣatriyas were entrusted with the duty of "Protection" which included fighting in war and governing in peace[209]. The inscriptions of our period reveal that the kṣatriyas of our period were conscious of their duty as prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras.

During this period the martial class, constituting probably, recruits from all races and ranks alongwith the ruling families, was known as the kṣatriyas. But the inscriptions of our period do not refer to the word *kṣatriya* as a caste like the Cāṇḍella inscriptions[210]. Instead the origin of the dynasty was invariably recorded in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. Excepting the above observations it is difficult to highlight more on the kṣatriyas of our period.

Vaiśya:—The next class in the social order was the *vaiśya* or the mercantile class like the word *kṣatriya* the word *vaiśya* is not to be found from the epigraphic records of our period. But from these records it is evident that only this class consisted of several castes which had evolved from the different professional groups within the class. Some of these castes were the kāyasthas (scribes), *suvarṇakāra* (goldsmith), *vijñānī* or *vindhānī* (engraver), *sūtradhāra* (mason) etc. While editing the Daspalla Copper Plate Grant[211] of the Nanda king Devānanda II D.C. Sircar rightly suggests that the donee's epithet *kāyastha* possibly indicates not his profession but his caste. As per his suggestion it can be said that the crystalization of the professional community of scribes into the caste of kāyasthas took place in Orissa from the beginning of the tenth century A.D. [212]

According to Manu[213] the *vaiśyas* originally looked after farming and the cattle. Other occupations, besides the above, allowed to a *vaiśya* with expert knowledge were jewels, metals, cloth, threads, perfumes and all manner of merchandise[214]. Basham rightly refers to the *vaiśyas* as ancient Indian businessmen[215]. Thus different castes in the *vaiśya* class evolved from these occupational businesses during the medieval period in Orissa too.

The Somavaṁśī inscriptions further reveal that some of the members of these caste groups had separate surnames. Thus Koighosha, son of Vallabha Ghosha, was the scribe of the first three charters of Janamejaya I. *Kāyastha* Sūrya Sena was the scribe of the Patna Plates of Yayāti-I, R.Y.—28th. We have already stated earlier that in contemporary medieval Orissa kāyasthas or scribes were always attached to the office of the Mahāsandhivigrahis. Kāyasthas acting as scribes of different royal charters was a common feature in northern India during the period under discussions[216]. B.C. Mazumdar, on the basis of the above title *Ghosha* suggested that Bengali kāyasthas were employed as court officials in Orissa during this period[217]. But A.P. Shah has rightly pointed out that the above suggestion has no supporting evidence and possibly *Ghosha* kāyasthas have migrated to Bengal from Orissa[218].

The engraver or the brazier, known from our records as *vijñānī* and *vindhānī* was probably another caste with a certain occupational business. Sangrāma[219], son of Rāyaṇa Ojhā was the engraver of Janamejaya I's third and eighth regnal year charters and the Degaon Copper Plates Grant of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Mugdhagondaladeva. The engraver of Yayāti I's charters is some times referred to as *vindhānī*[220].

The *suvarṇakāra* and *sūtradhāra*, indicating the goldsmith and the mason respectively, are to be found in the epigraphic records of our period. But we do not come across any particular surnames used by the persons who followed these professions. Instead, we come across two other surnames, Datta and Nāga, indicating two separate castes, whose members probably belonged to the *vaiśya* class. The Datta family is known to us as occupying the office of the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* through generations under different members of the Somavaṁśa. Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta I, was the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* under Janamejaya I upto his thirty-first regnal year. Dhāradatta II served Janamejaya I from atleast his 34th regnal year to the 24th regnal year of Yayāti I, in the same capacity. Then Singhadatta succeeded Dhāradatta II in the above office. The Mahakosala Historical Society Plates[221] of *Mahābhavagupta* describe that the *Mahāsandhivigrahi* and the scribe Rudradatta, son of Devadatta had migrated from Ayodhyāpura. In such cases it would seem that the Datta family's original homeland was in north India. Similarly we come across the names of Śānti Nāga, the *Mahākṣapaṭalika* under Yayāti I; Ucchava Nāga, son of Allāva Nāga, who held the position of *Mahākṣapaṭalika* as well as the scribe under Yayāti I after his fourth regnal year. It is thus clear that Datta and Nāga were two caste groups under the *vaiśya* class of our period.

Besides, it is also evidently clear that the *vaiśyas* had enjoyed considerable status in the Somavaṁśī social structure. They occupied important administrative posts under the administration. They also enjoyed the feudal title of *Rāṇaka* which explains for their social status. Because of their social status they got royal favours and privileges. We come across a phrase '*Vanikasthāna*' from the Sonepur Plates[222] of Janamejaya I's 17th regnal year. From this record we know that the village Gottaikelā in the sub-division of Luputurā was donated to Śrī Kamala Vana *Vaṇikasthāna* of Suvarṇapura, which hailed from Khadirapadra, for the worship and maintenance of the deities, Śrī Keśava and Āditya, located at Suvarṇapura. Vaṇikasthānas, which indicated guilds of merchants existed at various places in the Somavaṁśī kingdom and some of them enjoyed royal favours because of their social status due to the possession of wealth. It is also known that the business community were responsible for the propagation of faiths like Jainism and Buddhism during the early medieval period.[223]

Though we do not get reference to other castes in the *vaiśya* class it would never mean that other castes did not exist during our period.

Śūdra:—No specific reference to śūdras, the last of the four great *varṇas* of India, is also to be found from the records of our period. The Narasimhapur Charter[224] of Udyotakeśarī reveals that parts of a river were sometimes transferred to the donee as his rights which would indicate the transfer of fishing rights. From this it can be inferred that fishermen community or Kaivartas, generally grouped under the *śūdra* class, existed as a caste during the period under discussion. Probably other castes in this class were there in the Somavaṁśī society of whom we have no evidence as yet.

Aboriginies:—From the ancient times the forest and hilly tracts of Orissa was inhabited by a large number of tribal poeple. Presently we find about 62 tribes[225] in different parts of Orissa. Important among them are Bhuyans, Gonds, Juāṅgs, Koṇḍs, Koyās, Kolhas, Muṇḍās, Parajās, Sāntāls and Śavaras. Only the Śavaras as an ancient tribal people are referred to in ancient Indian litrature such as *Aiterīya Brāhmaṇa*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Purāṇas*, and *Harṣacarita*[226] etc. In Orissan traditions it is described that the present images of Jagannātha temple at Puri were originally worshipped by the śavaras.

But epigraphic references to some of the above tribes occur for the first time in the inscriptions of our period. The newly discovered Degaon Copper Plates include the word *Goṇḍāpati*, which would indicate the leader of a tribe of Goṇḍs, in the list of officials addressed in the grant. In the eulogy portion of the Narasimhapur Charter it is stated that the old śavara women having suppressed the tears in order to teach how to wander in the forest took pity on the females of his (Nahuṣa's) enemy[227]. S.N. Rajguru[228] while commenting on the above passage suggests that Nahuṣa's enemy was living in Kaliṅga and a portion of *Dakṣiṇa* Kosala where Śavaras are still to be seen. The above two references from the Somavaṁśī inscriptions would lead us to believe that Śavaras and Goṇḍs were the two tribal races known during this time. But this would not mean that other tribes did not exist at that time. Only we do not get any reference to them from the records of our period.

Position of Women and Marriage in the Society :—From the epigraphic records and sculptural evidences it can be said that women occupied an important position in the Somavaṁśī society. Pṛthvīmahādevī, daughter of Janamejaya I, ascended the Bhauma-kara throne after the death of her husband Śubhākaradeva IV. Durgā, the second queen of Bhīmaratha and mother of Indraratha, has been eulogised in the Banpur Charter. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription credits the building of the same temple to Kolāvatī, queen of Yayāti II and mother of Udyotakeśarī. She is further described in the aforesaid inscription as a lady comparable with goddess Laksmī and Durgā for her qualities. Thus ladies from the higher classes had enjoyed certain privileges such as building religious structures etc. Besides, it would seem that they received education in their early days, like the men, which included training in state craft also. Secular sculptures from temple walls showing panels of dance sequence would indicate that dance and music were parts of the education of the girls received during this period. It is also evident from such sculptures that women took equal part in religious ceremonies and social functions alongwith men. The expression *avarodhajana*, peculiar only to the inscriptions of the Somavaṁśī period and which has been accepted as meaning the ladies of the upper class,[229] indicates the privilege enjoyed by these ladies in connection with the execution of a land grant. From the Brahmeśvara temple inscription it is further known that girls were dedicated to gods and were some times attached to religious institutions where they performed dance recitals.

Thus in general the ladies from the upper class in the Somavaṁśī society had enjoyed a few privileges and they were in no way considered below the men. At the same time the ladies from the lower classes were probably not given much importance in the society. The professional dancers and musicians probably belonged to this class of ladies. *Rāṇī* Śrī-Karpuraśrī, the donee of the Ratnagiri Charter[230] probably belonged to this lower class.

That the practice of polygamy was prevalent, atleast among the upper classes, is revealed by the Banpur Charter of Indraratha wherein it is stated that Bhīmaratha had two queens. Besides, we know from the contemporary Dharmaśāstras that a girl was given in marriage before she attained her puberty. As such it is likely that child marriage was in vogue in the Somavaṁśī society.

Food and drink :—Inscriptions of our period are silent about the general food habits of the people. Sculptural representations from the temples of the period in a general way indicate about certain sweet meats and cakes which were probably taken by the people. Besides, literary sources provide us with some information regarding certain commodities that were used as food during the period under study.

The Sonepur Plates[231] of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta I, issued in his 17 th year of reign, furnish us with the term "*Valcaru-naivedya*"—which was mentioned in connection with the offerings made to deities in course of daily worship. *Vali* probably meant sacrifices of animals or some kind of fruits (the later in this case), *caru* was a special preparation of rice, other cereals and *til* etc., stuffed with milk and cooked with ghee or clarified butter in the sacred fire after oblations.

Among the sculptures the Gaṇeśa images are shown holding bowls of sweet meats of globular lumps generally called *modaka* or *motichur*.[232] Several figurines of the Mukteśvara temple are delineated with cakes of different kinds in their hands, but their nature cannot be clearly ascertained.[233]

The Mānasollāsa[234] informs us that the rice of Kaliṅga was famous during those days. In *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Harṣa, assigned to the last part of the eleventh century and early part of the twelfth century and considered to be a work of Orissa,[235] a marriage feast has been described in the 16th *Canto* of the work which is typically Orissan in character. The dishes described therein include niceties of fish and flesh (*mīnamṛgajapatrijain palaiḥ*) and other items of food *e.g.* fine, white, hot cooked rice, emitting appetising flavour and saturated with ghee, sweet pudding (*pāyasa*); tasteful but pungent curry prepared with curd, powdered mustard seed and chillies (*dadhidadhat katurajikaraddha*); thickened curd made from the milk of she-buffalo (*māhiṣya dadhi*), round reddish sweet cakes (*varttula gairika kṣiravaṭa*), another kind of round cake, scented with camphor particles (*Srita candro saurabha varsopula golakavali*), ladu (*Laḍḍuka*) and the preparations of drinks e.g. cold water scented with *Agaru* and ice-like cold water mixed with sugar (*tusāradhāramṛditeya sarkarā*)."[236]

From the above evidences it would appear that rice as in present times, constituted the staple diet of the people. Besides, wheat and barley were also, probably, used as common food. Milk and other milk products were also taken by the people. It is likely that some of the dishes described above such as cakes and sweetmeats were probably considered as luxurious food and were included in rich men's menu. R.L. Mitra[237] considers them as the indicator of considerable social refinement of the period. Besides, the above the people probably used different fruits as part of their daily food.[238]

It is likely that a section of the people were vegetarian. But as already seen above non-vegetarian food was also known to have been used by some. Fish and meat were probably taken by a section of the people. The above evidence from the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* is corroborated by the reference to the delegation of fishing and hunting rights in certain inscriptions of our period and hunting scenes depicted on the temple walls. Deer was the main animal which was hunted for its food value as depicted in the sculptures. We have no evidence as to the other animals whose flesh was eaten by the people during the period. Thus rice, wheat, barley, sugar, milk and its products, fruits, fish and meat mainly constituted the food of people during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.

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As to the drinks used during this period we have already seen that soft drinks included scented cold water and ice-like cold water mixed with sugar. From the sculptural representations of cups and goblets found on temples of the period found at Bhubaneswar R.L. Mitra suggests that intoxicating drinks such as wine etc. were also taken by the people. The records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty refer to distillers of wine (*sauṇḍika*) whereas the Somavaṁśī records do not refer to any such professional group of people.

Dress and Ornaments:—We come to know about the different types of dresses and various ornaments from the large number of sculptures belonging to the Somavaṁśī period. The sculptures clearly indicate that the men in general used a lower garment (*adhovasana*, *paridhāna*, *vasana*) and an upper garment (*Uttarīya*) as their normal attire. The lower garment was worn just like a *dhoti* of later times, fastened round the waist with a belt or string. The rich probably used different types of girdles for fastening the lower cloth round the waist as seen from the sculptures. Generally the lower cloth reached a little below the knee. The girdle used in most cases was a long one and its end usually hangs down in front of the garment between the legs. Besides, the girdles were probably made of gold and studded with precious stones and pearls (Pl. 38). The upper cloth or *uttarīya* was worn draped shawl-like over the left shoulder and under the right arm. A study of garments on the sculptures would clearly point to the fact that only the rich people and divinities are depicted with *uttarīya* whereas the common people are represented only with the *pridhāna* or *vasana*.

The dress of the women was no different than that of the man. In many cases the female figures are depicted with a lower cloth and an upper cloth generally worn as a saree of present day. But some times a bodice was only used to cover the breasts. Some times we also find the female figures only with a lower cloth, reaching down below the knee thus leaving the upper part of the body bare except the various ornaments. This is noticed mainly in dancing female figures and the Nāyīkā figures those are found on temple walls as part of the decorative motifs. From this it would appear that a section of the ladies, particularly of the lower class in the society or professional dancers and musicians, only used a *paridhāna* as their attire. According to Basham "the women in ancient India were considerably restricted in their activities, and a high standard of modesty was demanded of those of the higher classes; but it is clear that their ideas of propreity in dress were very different from those of their descendants."[239]

The sculptures of our period show that gate-keepers and *sanyāsīs* used to wear turbans—the forms of which do not differ much from those in common use in the present day[240] (Pl. 60). It seems that both cotton and silk were used as dress materials during our period. Since the time of Kauṭilya, Kaliṅga was one of the main centres of textile industry alongwith other centers like Bengal, Kāmarupa, Magadha, Madura, Aparānta, Kāśī, Vatsa and Māhiṣa[241]. While referring to a long list of fabrics, intended for royal use and their places of origin the Mānasollāsa[242] mentions Kaliṅga alongwith other places. This shows that cloth of high quality was produced in Orissa even during the period under discussion. This fact is corroborated by the two sculptures of Kārtikeya and Pārvatī, the side deities of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar, which are depicted with such fine variety of *paridhāna* (Pl. 65 & 66). While referring to such specimens of cloth R.L. Mitra writes that "in neatness, elegance and richness of design and execution, it is in no way inferior to the finest production of the Benaras loom of the present day".[243] Besides, the lower garments, the upper garments of ladies are generally decorated with rich and beautiful designs and pearl or bead linings (Pls. 48, 49 and 66). From the above it would seem that both cotton and silk fabrics were used by the people. While the poor used cotton fabrics the rich and elegant section of the society used silk and finer varieties of cotton fabrics. The study of dress on the sculptures would further point to the methods of weaving as well as embroidery work used while manufacturing the dresses.

Ornaments:—In the Somavaṁśī society, as in the contemporary period, if the clothes were simple and few, ornaments were complex and many. Both men and women wore ornament on the different parts of their bodies, for personal adornment. Gold, silver and different precious stones were used in making these ornaments. Though no jewellery of the period has come down to us so far, a study of the sculptures would give us a clear picture of the different types of ornaments used during the period. Women of our period wore jewelled ornaments on their forehead just below the hairline. Both men and women used ear rings of different types such as big rounded ear-rings, most popularly used and found fixed on the ear lobes, and *kuṇḍala*, which hung down from the ear lobes (Pls. 48-49). In later literature these ear ornaments are called as *kāṇa, karṇaphūlu* etc. Ornate and bejewelled gold necklaces of different designs such as *ratnahāra, candrahāra* etc. were worn, which generally covered a good portion of the chest and hung in between the breasts. Bangles and armlets adorned the arms. Golden girdles with varying breadth and often set with linked gold and strings of pearls were used by both the sexes. The ornaments for the legs were anklets known as *kiṅkiṇī*, set with little tinkling bells. Thus the rich people adorned their forehead, neck, lower and upper arm, wrist, waist and legs with the above ornaments of gold set with precious stones. The poor used silver and brass instead of gold. The *Naiṣadhīya-carita*[244] refers to the use of brass ornaments by the poor people. This custom is still prevalent in many parts of Orissa. Besides, we find the divinities and the royal figures using crowns of different shapes on their heads. The inscriptions also refer to the use of crowns (*makuṭa* and *kirīta*) during the period. We come across mainly two types of kirītas during this period. This first type is a conical shaped one with vertical beads designs and a crest jewel on the fore centre (Pls. 30 and 66). The other one is called *Jāta-makuṭa* which has a vertical moulding in front running from the base to top from which branch mouldings in straight lines come down on both the sides giving it the appearance of a fire tree-branch (Pls. 26, 42, 47 and 50). We also get evidence to the use of golden fillets to the hairs from the sculptures of the period. The nose rings or studs are peculiar, not to be noticed on the sculptures of our period.

Hair style:—During this period both the sexes had long hairs which were generally combed backwards and made into a chignon to be kept either on the nape of the neck behind or above the shoulders on the sides (Pls. 48 & 49). Sometimes the ladies tied the hair made in plaits of various patterns with fillets. A royal male figure of the Rājārānī temple at Bhubaneswar has his hair combed upwards which is knotted into a chignon and placed on the top of the head. Sometimes hair-dressing was in the shape of a wig with plaits falling down over the shoulders (Pl. 50). The ordinary folk of both the sexes only tied their hair into chignons and did not use any fillets. The man during the period had clean and smooth chins while the ascetics grew beard and had long plaits of hair which they wore in the shape of turbans on their heads (Pl. 60.) Other mendicants had clean shaven heads. The different types of hair dressings of ladies can be seen at a single place, from Yoginī sculptures of Hirapur[245] near Bhubaneswar, where each sculpture has been depicted with a different hair style. From these sculptures one can very well imagine the excellence attained on various types of female hair dressing during the period.

Cosmetics:—We have *Nāyīkā* sculptures of the period depicted with mirrors in their left hands while they were shown applying vermillion on their foreheads with their right hand. From these sculptures it can be inferred that cosmetics like vermillion (*sindūra*) etc. were used by the ladies in the society. Besides, Collyrium or eye-salve (*añjana*), *goracana* for applying marks on the forehead (*tilaka*) and lac (*lākṣa*), used for dying purposes, were probably used in the Somavaṁśī society as in other parts of contemporary India.[246] Representations of lady's purse or vanity bag in sculptures are also to be found from the sculptures of the period.

Amusements and Entertainments:—The sculptures of the period indicate that dancing, music, hunting, wrestling and sword fighting etc. were the main sources of entertainment of the people during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. We come across panels of hunting scenes in the walls of the Mukteśvara and Liṅgarāja temples at Bhubaneswar. A scene from the Mukteśvara temple depicts the hunting of deers by persons armed with bow and arrow. We also come across scenes depicting the trappings of wild elephants with tamed and trained elephants from the Liṅgarāja temple. The ceiling of the porch of the Mukteświara temple contains a panel showing a dance performance (Pl. 64). In the scene a lady is shown dancing in the centre while female musicians are playing different musical instruments. Other dancing female figures adorn the walls of the temples of the period. Verse 15 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription[247] informs us that Kolāvatī Devī "dedicated to God Śiva some beautiful women, whose limbs were adorned with ornaments set in gems and thus appearing as the everlasting but playful lightenings, and who were restless with the weight of loins and breasts, and whose eyes were fickle and extended upto the ears and who looked lovely like the pupils of the eyes of men". These women were obviously employed in the worship of lord Śiva as dancers. From the long tradition of dancing in Orissa, as depicted in temple sculptures, it is believed that the present form of classical dance, known as *Odiśi* has originated from a special form of dance called *Oḍra-Māgadhi* in *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata.[248] Besides, Naṭarāja and *nṛtya* or dancing Gaṇeśa sculptures also represent the dance tradition in Orissa. Another panel in the ceiling of the Mukteśvara temple depicts a musical concert where five ladies are shown playing various musical instruments (Pl. 63). The *prabhāvalī* or the arch above the Pārvatī image of the Liṅgarāja temple contains heavenly musicians (Gandharvas) with different musical instruments (Pl. 66). From these sculptural representations we know of the various musical instruments of the period. These were: *Viṇā* among the stringed instrument; *Dholaka*, played either on one or both sides and made of various shapes, among the percussion instruments; the tambourine or *Khañjaṇī*; flutes (Vaṇsī), with latteral blowing holes; pipes; trumpets; cymbals, large (*Karatāla*) and small (*Mandirā*); and military drum of a small variety, probably the *tim-timi* or the cattle drum[249]. Some time we find different types of the percussion instrument. Some were of large size with small ends and broad centres, like the *Mṛdaṅaga* of modern times. Others less protuberant in the middle, but with broad ends like the *Pākhwaj*[250]. Sometimes the cult deities are also found depicted with some of the musical instruments described above. The conch-shell (*Śaṅkha*) and the gong (*Kāṅsva*) were also used as musical instruments, particularly on auspicious occasions as in the present day. From the *Prabodha-candrodaya Nāṭakaṁ* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra we know that the play was staged first before lord Puruṣottama at Puri[251]. This would indicate that dramas and plays were another source of entertainment in the society of our period.

From the sculptural representations of wrestlers and sword fighters (Pls. 67-68). It would appear that these sports were probably the sources of amusement to the poorer people. Besides, panels from the Liṅgarāja temple would indicate that catching wild elephants with the help of the tamed ones, riding horses and hunting wild animals were the sports of the rich people and the nobility during our period.

Household Articles:— Among the household articles of the period as depicted in the sculptures we know of the following. They are drinking vessels of diffrent sizes, bowls, pots, bags (Pl. 62), pedestals, divans, cots, low stools (Pl. 61), hand fans (Pl. 60), incense stick stands (Pl. 57), book rest (*Vyāsāsana*) (Pl. 56) etc. From the representations of door frames and shutters in the sculptures (Pl. 61), it can be said that people used to live in stone or brick houses. We also come across specimens of bullock-carts among the sculptures, which were probably used as a means of transport by the common people.

Education System:—From the epigraphical and literary sources we know that a number of learned scholars, well versed in the various branches of learning, flourished during our period. As already seen earlier, Sādhāraṇa, the Chief Minister of the first Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya I, was a good scholar with a sound knowledge in subjects such as *Arthaśāstra*, *Smṛti*, *Veda*, *Vedāṅga*, *Sikṣā*, *Kalpa*, *Itihāsa* etc.[252]. Another scholar Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa, who composed the text of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, has been described as *Suraguru* for his erudition and learning in branches like Vedas, grammar, political science, poetry, logic etc. Satānanda was another scholar of the time who had written on astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*), *Smṛti* and law.

It seems that education was imparted to students in educational institutions or by individual teachers during this period. The Ratnagiri *Vihāra*[253], still continued to be a great centre of Buddhist learning during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. As stated above the inscriptions reveal that subjects of general study during the period were Vedas, Vedāṅgas, *Smṛti*, political economy, grammar, logic, education, history poetry and astronomy. From the details of the donees of the Somavaṁśī charters it can be said that the Brāhmaṇas mainly imparted education as teachers. The different śākhās and caraṇas mentioned in connection with the educational learnings of the donees would indicate different schools of thought with regard to the study of the Vedas. Besides, as stated earlier the nobility and the princes of royal blood were also given training in the martial art. From the sculptures we know that discourses on religion and philosophy used to take place during this period. A panel of the Liṅgarāja temple (Pl. 60) shows an emancipated teacher seated on a low stool preaching to the pupils and followers, depicted around and below him with folded hands. A number of other similar panels from the Lingarāja temple depict the same theme. It is also believed that the Ādi Śankarācārya had defeated the Buddhists in a religious discussion held at Puri[254]. But we have no direct evidence to support this theory.

Language and Literature :— The common language spoken by the people was probably an early form of Oriyā as we get enough evidences to the crystalisation of the Oriyā language in certain Oriyā words found from the inscriptions of our period. It seems that Sanskrit was the language used by the elite and the official language used in the royal court, but, we find that Sanskrit words were mixed with Oriyā words and written after the fashion of Oriyā pronounciation.[255] Some of the orthographical peculiarities noticed in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions are as follows:—

Sanskrit	*Oriyā*	
Vaṁśa	*Vaṅśa*	—Kalibhana Grant of Janamejaya I R.Y. 6.
Krutsna	*Krucchna*	— —do—
Mantrī	*Mattrī*	—Khandapara Plates of Dharmaratha.
Yayāti	*Yajāti*	—Maranjamura Charter of Yayāti-II.
Sāmra	*Sāmbra*	— —do—
Tāmra	*Tāmbra*	— —do—
Aṣṭaviṁśa	*Aṭṭhaviśa*	—Ratnagiri charter of Karṇṇadeva.
Vyāghra carma	*Vāghacama*	--Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva.

Among the literary works of our period mention may be made of *Bhāśvatī*, *Śatānaṅda*, *Saṁgraha* and *Śatānaṅda Ratnamālā* by Śatānaṅda Ācārya of Puruṣottama *kṣetra* or Puri, who flourished about the last part of the eleventh century A.D. His first work *Bhāśvati*, a work on astronomy, was written in A.D. 1099.[256] The second work the *Śatānaṅda Saṁgraha* deals with the *Dharmaśāstra* and considered to be an important work by later *Smṛti* writers of Orissa. While the last known work of Śatānaṅda, the *Satānaṅda Ratnamālā*, is a legal digest. Besides, the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrī-Harṣa is believed[257] to have been a work of Orissa written during the period between A.D. 1050-1120 when Śrī-Harṣa flourished. The above conclusion is based on some internal evidences found in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita*[258]. Another literary work assigned to the period is Kṛṣna Misra's *Prabodh Candrodaya Nāṭakam*[259], dated between A.D. 1050-70 and believed to be a work of Orissa. K.N. Mahapatra[260] thinks that Nārāyaṇa Satkavi, author of the *Rāmābhyudaya kāvyaṁ* a work not known from other sources, and the Pujaripali stone inscription[261] belonged to the period of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa which seems to be doubtful.

Economic Condition :— Orissa had, mainly, an agrarian type of economy during the Somavaṁśī rule. The main product from the land was paddy. Besides, other agricultural products were there. The state could get a large percentage of its revenue from this source. As stated earlier, we have evidences to show that a few industries also existed during this period. We have seen earlier that the *Mānasollāsa* refer to the fine variety of fabrics from Kaliṅga which would point to the existence of the textile industry in the kingdom. The iron beams and clamps found used extensively in the building of the temples of this period would suggest the presence of a forged iron industry in the Somavaṁśī kingdom. In fact the excellence attained in the technique of the forged iron during this period is evident from the still intact iron beams found used below the lintel stones of different Somavaṁśī temples. R.L. Mitra[262] suggests that iron was brought from Talcher in the district of Dhenkanal. A.P. Shah, from the large number of temples and sculptures of the period, suggests to the existence of stone work industry during the early medieval period in Orissa[263]. The reference to the term *Pāsāṇa* in the recently discovered Degaon Plates,[264] mentioned in connection with the various taxes and privileges to be enjoyed by the donee, probably meaning the right to lease stone quarries, would support the above contention of A.P. Shah. Probably the other minor industries or crafts of the period were metal work, ivory work, pottery, sugar and salt etc.

Thus the people were engaged either in agriculture or one of the above industries to earn their livelihood. Apart from these workers we have references to other professional groups in the society viz. the soldiers (the *Cāṭa* and *Bhāṭa*), scribes (kāyasthas), the goldsmith, the mason, the engraver etc. Alongwith the coins called *Śobhana-Rupya-Pla*[265] we get evidences to the use of *cowrie* currency in the daily transactions of the people.[266]

Regarding the trade and commence of the period it is possible that the Somavaṁśī kingdom exported textile, rice, and iron swords[267] and daggers etc. alongwith various forest products such as timber and the like, to other kingdoms in India. We have no evidence of the sea-trade during the period.

It would seem from the above study that the people under the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa were economically prosperous; industrially advanced, socially well established as professional groups; and culturally they had attained a high degree of excellence in the field of dance, music and literature.

Notes and References

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2. K. C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 38.
2a. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 86.
2b. S.N. Rajaguru, *I.O.*, Vol. V, p. 365, note.
3. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 351-55; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 187; S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, p. 166; B.K. Rath & Smt. S. Tripathy, *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 36-43.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, (*N.S.*), Vol. I, 1905, pp. 14-16 and 7-8, 16-18; *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 95-8 ff.
5. B.K. Rath & Smt. S. Tripathy, *Op cit.*, p. 38.
6. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 271-76 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 272 and 275.
8. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, 1916, pp. 45-55 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15 ff.
10. D.C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 194.
11, U.K. Subudhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa*, p. 85.
12. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15 ff, lines 33-34 of the text.
13. See below Appendix-II.
14. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 95-98 ff.
15. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 148; K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 32.
16. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45-55 ff.
17. See above page 7, note.
18. *I.H.O.*, Vol. XII, pp. 489-93 ff.
19. See above pages 11-12.
20. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 41-45 ff.
21. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 378.

22. S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, p. 280 f.
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24. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 345-51 ff.
25. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 245-50 ff.
26. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 154.
27. U.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, p. 88.
28. A.P. Shah, *Life in Medieval Orissa*, p. 13.
29. *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8 ff.
30. *Political & Administrative System of Ancient & Medieval India*, p. 166.
31. *History of Bengal*, *Dacca University*, Vol. I, pp. 24 ff.
32. *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 283.
33. A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 209.
34. A.S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 137.
35. U.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, p. 86.
36. See below Appendix-II.
37. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 155.
38. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 365; *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. V, pp. 269-70, Vol. IV, p. 232.
39. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 269-70.
40. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 232.
41. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 272.
42. Cf. *Śrī Mahābhavaguptarājadeva pādānudhyātā or Śrī Mahāsivaguptarājadeva, pādānudhyāta* in the Somavamśī inscriptions.
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44. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, 1916, p. 53.
45. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, 1966, p. 274, verse 12.
46. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 266.
47. N.K. Sahu, *New Aspects of History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 20.
48. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 321-26, line 6 of the text.
49. *J.A.S.B.(N.S.)*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 1-26.
50. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, 1947, pp. 63-74 ff, verse 10.
51. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
52. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. V, pp. 274-284.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
54. S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, p. 165.
55. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. II, pp. 45-55 ff, lines 13.
56. Verse 4.
57. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, nos. 27, 30, 31, 32 & 33-A.
58. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 62.
59. See above page 76.
60. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63-74; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45-55 ff; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. I-15 ff.
61. *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), Vol. I, pp. 5-6 & 12-13 ff; *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 340-4 ff.
62. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 54.
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64. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 53.
65. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63-74 ff.
66. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, p. 57.]
67. S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, pp. 265-67 ff, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 273.
68. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 345-51 ff.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 349, LL. 39-42.
70. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.
71. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 93-95 ff, line-15, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8 ff, line-12; *Ibid.*, Vol. III,

pp. 355-59 ff, line-42.
72. *I.H.O.* Vol. XX, p. 246.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
74. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63-74 ff, verse-10.
75. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, 1966, pp. 271-76, verse-10.
76. *Manu*, Vol. VII, 53; *Kāmandaka*, IV; *Arthśāstra*, I, Ch. 3.
77. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 138-43 ff, lines 41-42.
78. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XI, pp. 192-7 ff, line 50; *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55 ff, lines 46-47.
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80. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 60, line 61.
81. A. P. Shah. *Op. cit.*, p. 31, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 246.
82. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 62.
83. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 150.
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85. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 345-51, lines 50-51.
86. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 245-50, line 51.
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98. S.N. Rajaguru, *Op. cit.*, p. 163, lines 54-55.
99. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 70; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 22.
100. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 70, line 57.
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150. *Yājñavalkya*, Vol. II, 35, 36; *Manu*. VIII, 30-33.
151. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 65.
152. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp 1-15 ff, line 38, '*Mahānadī arddhaśrotaḥ-sameta*'.
153. *I.O.* Vol. IV, p. 280 D, lines 31-32.
154. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 64.
155. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15 ff, lines 39-41.
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163. D.C. Sircar, *Op cit.*, p. 5.
164. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 69 and notes.
165. A.S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their times*, p. 248.
166. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, 1947, p. 72.
167. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 274, verse-12.
168. *The Wonder that was India*, p. 132.
169. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 239.
170. A.L, Bhasham, *Op. cit.*, p. 130.
171. *Yuktikalpataru*, p. 170, verses 24-29.

172. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 19.
173. R.L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 122.
174. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
175. R.D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, fig. 9, opposite page 32.
176. See above page 19, fn. 11a.
177. See Appendix-II.
178. *Ibid.*
179. *J.O.H.*, Vol. I, No. i, pp. 1-5.
180. See above page 20, fn. 31.
181. U.K. Subudhi, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.
182. Cf. *Lupattarākhaṇḍīya Vakratentali grāme brāhmaṇānām sampujya*, line 5. "Vakratentali Grant of Janamejaya I".
183. *Ibid.*, lines 14-15. Cf. *Mātāpitrorātmanśca punya yasobhivṛddhaye.*
184. A.P. Shah, *Life in Medieval Orissa*, p. 124.
185. *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 349, lines 39-42.
186. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 247-48, lines 13-14.
187. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 70, 1-57.
188. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.
189. *Navabhārata* (Oriya), Vol. VI, Nos. 5 & 6, pp. 221-5 ff; *J.A.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 24 ff.
190. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 99; *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 233.
191. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, 1966. p. 275, verse 14.
192. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient & Medieval India*, p. 213.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
194. K.C. Panigrahi, *Itihāsa O Kimbadanti*, (Oriya), pp. 14-17.
195. D.C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 297, Note-1.
196. U.N. Ghosal, *Studies in Indian History & Culture*, p. 6.
197. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 123.
198. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XII, p. 68, line 35 of the text.
199. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 142.
200. *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-9 ff.
201. See above page 19, fn. 11 (a).
202. K.C. Panigrahi, *J.O.H.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-5 ff.
203. *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. IV, p. 242.
204. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 210-20 ff, lines 17-18 of the text.
205. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 63-74 ff, verse-11.
206. *J.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, verse 10, p. 274.
207. *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 267.
208. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 39.
209. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-73.
210. N.K. Bose, *History of the Chandellas*, p. 152.
211. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIX, part VI, pp. 184-89.
212. D.C. Sircar assigns the date of the Daspalla grant to A.D. 184=831=1015 taking A.D. 831 as the initial year of the Bhauma *Saṁvat* in which the grant is dated.
213. *Manu*, Vol. IX, 326 ff.
214. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 143.
215. *Ibid.*
216. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
217. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 103.
218. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
219. See Appendix-II.
220. *J.A.S.B.*, (N.S.), Vol. I, pp. 7-8 & 16-18 ff.
221. *E.I.*, Vol., XXII, pp. 135-38 ff.

222. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55 ff.
223. A.L. Basham, *Op. cit.*, p. 144.
224. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1-15 ff.
225. B. Mohanty, *Odisa Paricaya* (Oriya), 1976, p. 281.
226. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, pp. 133-36.
227. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 16, line 20.
228. *Inscriptions of Orissa*. Vol. IV, p. 385.
229. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 239.
230. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 39.
231. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55 ff, lines 13-14.
232. R.L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1875, Reprint of 1961, p. 183.
233. *Ibid.*
234. Vol. III, 1347.
235. K.N. Mahapatra, *Des Cat. of Sanskrit Ms*, Vol. II, pp. xvii to xxvii ff.
236. *Ibid.*, p. xix.
237. *Op. cit.*, p. 116.
238. A.P. Shah, *Op.cit.*, p. 141.
239. A.L. Basham, *Op. cit.*, p. 214.
240. A.P. Shah, *Op. cit.*, p. 143.
241. *Ibid.*, p. 97; *Arthaśāstra*, Vol. II, 2, B.C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, p. 46.
242. Ch. III, 1017-20.
243. *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 80.
244. K.N. Mahāpatra, *Op. cit.*, p. xix, (canto 9, verse 28).
245. Charles Fabri, *The History of the Art of Orissa*, pp. 74-101 & plates lxiii to lxxv.
246. A.L. Basham, *Op. cit.*, p. 215.
247. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XIII, 1947, p. 78.
248. Ch. 13, *śloka*-37; D. Patnaik, *Oḍisi Dance*, p. 74.
249. R.L. Mitra, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 178-179.
250. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
251. K.N. Mahapatra, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. xvii; *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. VI, p. 298.
252. See above page 120.
253. N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 88.
254. Foreword p. ix to the work by N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*; A.P. Shah, *Op cit.*, pp. 146-147.
255. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
256. K.N. Mahapatra, *Op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. xx.
257. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. xvii to xxvii.
258. *Ibid.*
259. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. VI, p. 298.
260. *Op. cit.*, p. vii.
261. *Mahakosala Historical Society Papers*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 69, *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 212.
262. *Op. cit.*, p. 36.
263. *Op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.
264. Line 26 of the text.
265. Degaon Plates, line 32 of the text.
266. *Naiṣadhīya Carita*, canto 2, verse 88; canto 22, verse 13.
267. *Yuktikalpataru*, p. 170, verses 24-29.

7

MĀDALĀ PĀNJI AND THE KEŚARI KINGS

Mādalā Pāñji is the temple chronicle of the Jagannātha temple at Purī. Literally it means the drum almanac* and is generally found in more than one copy of palm-leaf manuscripts. These copies were used to be written and maintained separately and hereditarily by the temple scribes called *Taḍala Karaṇa* and *Deula Karaṇa*. An edited version of the *Mādalā Pāñji* is available to the scholars which has been edited, from three such manuscripts from Puri and one copy from the Ganjam district, by the late Professor A.B. Mohanty[1]. Copies of another *Pāñji* are stated to have been found in the possession of the Utkala University at Bhubaneshwar and Sri Sadasiva Ratha of Puri[2].

The *Mādalā Pāñji* contains a separate chapter on the *Rājabhoga-Itihāsa* or *Rājacarita* which is "Annals of kings"[3], given in a chronological order, who have ruled over Orissa from the earliest times. The rest portions of the *Pāñji* deal with the rituals, mode of worship, festivals and other matters relating to the maintenance of the Jagannātha temple and its deities. The *Rājacarita* chapter begins with a list of mythical kings who have ruled during the different ages such as *Satya, Tretā* and *Dvāpara*. Then it deals with the kings of the *Kali* age, supposed to have commenced from 3001[4] B.C. or 3101 B.C.[5] who belonged to the Purānic Somavaṁśa that ruled over Orissa. In historical times it traces the political history of Orissa from the rule of Yayāti Keśarī of the Keśarī dynasty who is stated to have commenced his reign about A.D. 473[6]. Then the rule of the members of the Keśarī, Gaṅga, Sūrya and Bhoi dynasties and their respective reign periods are described in a chronological manner.

Thus it is to be noted that the *Mādalā Pāñji* only refers to the Purānic Somavaṁśa but not to the Somavaṁśa we know from the epigraphic records. Besides, it refers to the Keśarī dynasty, which is not known from other sources, for the first time. While the *Mādalā Pāñji* has many traditional accounts regarding the members of the Keśarī dynasty it also became the source for the development of other traditional accounts attributed later to the Keśarī kings. Following the *Mādalā Pāñji* and the various legends and traditional accounts that grew from it the Somavaṁśa of the epigraphic records is popularly known in Orissa as the Keśarī

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* The name is derived from the shape of the bound palm-leaf manuscript which resembles a small drum locally called as *Mādalā*, Jagabandhu Singh, *Prācīna-Utkala*, (Oriya), p. 539.

Vaṁśa, scholars have also identified the Somavaṁśa of the epigraphic records with the Keśarī Vaṁśa of the *Mādalā Pāñji*.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* occupies a distinct position among the source materials for reconstructing the history of Orissa. According to K. C. Panigrahi[7], the knowledge of Orissan history will be incomplete in any scholar who writes about the history of Orissa rejecting the *Mādalā Pāñji* altogether as a source material. He also cautions against the excessive reliance put over the *Pāñji* for the same purpose. But we find that a set of scholars have used the palm-leaf records of Puri as source for their works on Orissa's history while another group of scholars have not taken into account of the facts stated in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. In the first group of scholars are included such pioneers on Orissan studies as Stirling, Prinsep, Hunter, R.L. Mitra and P.M. Acharya. In 1822 Stirling wrote his accounts[8] on Orissa basing his knowledge mostly from the *Mādalā Pāñji*. He writes in the same work, "the earlier histories of the country are of the legendary or fabulous class, copies from the Purāṇas, but embellished or disfigured by a plentiful admixture of local traditions. Their later annals assume an air of authenticity about the date of the accession of the family called the Keśarīvaṁśa, A. D. 473 prior to which the accounts are so replete with obvious falsehoods, contradiction, inconsistency, and anachronism, as to be equally unintelligible and unworthy of notice"[9].

Thus, while rejecting the earlier portions of the *Rājacarita* chapter of *Mādalā Pāñji* in the above manner he accepts the later portions, beginning from the rule of the Keśarī *Vaṁśa*, as genuine history. In this regard P.M. Acharya also shares his views[10]. This is understandable due to the fact that Stirling had no access, then, to other evidences in the form of epigraphic discoveries, coins and monuments which were discovered at a later period. The Bengali work *Puruṣottama Candrikā* was written largely drawing materials from the *Māḍalā Pāñji*. In 1872 Hunter wrote his history of Orissa wherein he acknowledges the help he had taken from the *Puruṣottama Candrikā*[11].

In the second group of scholars can be included such scholars as R. D. Benerji[12] and R.P. Chand[13] who have scarcely given the *Pāñji* the attention it deserves. At the same time most of the local scholars of Orissa still follow the *Mādāla Pāñji* as a main source for writing the local history without considering the large number of epigraphic records those have been discovered meanwhile. Thus as K.C. Panigrahi puts it. "History and Chronology have thus been in the wilderness in Orissa, the outside scholars scarcely recognizing the *Māladā Pāñji* as a reliable source of history, while most of the local scholars taking it to be an authentic history."[14]

Hence it would be pertinent here to explain the character of the *Mādalā Pāñji* and its importance in the study of the history of the Somavaṁśī or Keśarī kings, reconciling a few of the traditions contained in the *Pāñji* with certain known historical facts.

"The *Mādalā Pāñji* is not a history, but a traditional work, and like most traditions, is likely to have some historical substratum, though hidden under a mass of popular myths and legends"[15]. But this factor has been overlooked by most of the scholars who have discussed about the *Mādalā Pāñji*. As already stated it was considered to be a reliable source material for writing Orissa's history during the early ninteenth century A.D. Even now some of the local scholars consider it in the same light. But scholars had also expressed doubt over the *Mādalā Pāñji's* historical value as early as the last part of the ninteenth century A.D.

In 1892 M.M. Chakravarti had observed that "in spite of the researches of Stirling, Prinsep, Hunter and Rajendra Lal Mitra, the history of Orissa was very obscure. The *Mādalā Pāñji* was still its main basis and the *Mādalā Pāñji* was a very unsafe, and confusing guide, being itself based on unsatisfactory, imperfectly recorded, and often contradictory traditions. The work should be deposed from the high pedestal which it now occupied, and placed in its proper rank, as a corroborative document only"[16]. Fleet in 1894-95 after making a detail examination of traditions preserved in the *Mādalā Pāñji* and reconciling them with the facts gleaned from the epigraphic records of the Somavaṁśa, discovered then, concluded that the *Mādalā Pāñji* could not have been reduced to its present form before the sixteenth century A.D.[16a]. Later, other scholars as R.P. Chanda, B.C. Majumdar, R.D, Benerji, H.K. Mahatab, P. Acharya. D.C. Sircar and K.B. Tripathy have also held doubt over the value of the *Mādalā Pāñji* as a source for the early and medieval history of Orissa.

The value of a historical source material can be assessed correctly only when its date is known. As such K.C. Panigrahi[17] is right when he says that "it is necessary to determine the period when the *Mādalā Pāñji* was written in order to assess its value as a historical document". Though a number of scholars have so far discusssed on the various aspects of the *Mādalā Pāñji* only a few have ventured to discuss its date. According to R.P. Chanda[18] it was written during the Mughal rule, since the word Mughal and other words of Muslim origin have been used in the text of the *Mādalā Pāñji*. Before him, as already stated above, Fleet drew the conclusion that the *Mādalā Pāñji* was reduced to its present shape not before the sixteenth century A.D. K.C. Panigrahi has successfully tried to establish in his Oriya monograph[19] that the *Mādalā Pāñji* had begun from the Bhoi rule in Orissa, which commenced from about A.D. 1570[20]. His findings are based mainly on the internal evidences furnished by the *Mādalā Pāñji* itself. These can be summed up in the following manner.

In the first place we know that the *Rajacarita* chapter of the *Pāñji* contains the list of kings from the earliest times. We also know that its portion dealing with the mythical ages such as *Satya*, *Tṛetā* and *Dvāpara* contains purāṇical accounts. The different dynasties of Orissa in *Kali* age, chronologically given in the *Pāñji*, are the Soma, Keśarī, Ganga, Sūrya and Bhoi *Vaṁśas*. Several names of the Keśari dynasty of the *Pañji* match the names found in the epigraphic records of the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa. Scholars also identify both the Keśarī and the Soma *Vaṁśa* as one. Besides, we have no knowledge of another Somavaṁśa ruling over Orissa prior to the above Keśarī *Vaṁśa* or Somavaṁśa from any other sources of Orissan history. Thus we see that the chronological list of the dynasties mentioned in the *Pāñji*, from the rule of the Keśarī dynasty onwards, is a correct one. It would be a very difficult task and practically impossible to determine the exact date or year of the commencement of the *Pāñji*. But it would be easier to assign the date of the *Pāñji* to the reign period of one of the above dynasties of Orissa.

The *Mādalā Pāñji* could not have begun during the Keśarī rule as the *Pāñjis* differ in their lists of Keśarī kings. We shall see later that the *Pāñji* referred to by Stirling contained a list of 36 Keśarī kings while it had 44 kings by the time Hunter wrote his work. The edited version of the *Pāñji* has a total number of 65 Keśarī kings instead. These discrepancies would not have occured in the *Pāñji* had it been compiled during the rule of the Keśarī dynasty.

Similarly the *Pāñji* has recorded the early life of Coḍagaṅgadeva, and Kapilendradeva, respectively the first king of the Gaṅga and Sūrya dynasties, in a distorted form. The *Pāñji*[21] depicts Coḍagaṅgadeva as the son of a widow who occupied the throne of Orissa due to his tantric powers acquired through the favour of an washer-woman called Netāi Dhobaṇī. Besides it depicts Gaṅgeśvaradeva, which is another name of Coḍagaṅgadeva, taking him to be the second Gaṅga king of Orissa as having illicit relationship with his own daughter.[22] But these facts are refuted by sober history. From the epigraphic records[23] of the Gagṅa dynasty it is known that Coḍagaṅga's father Devendravarman Rājarāja and mother Rājasundarī, who was the daughter of the great Coḷa king Rājendra Cola-I. These and other such traditions of the Gaṅga period could not have been relished or allowed to be recorded by the Gaṅga kings if the *Pāñji* had been compiled during their rule.

The same argument holds good for the non-ascription of the date of the *Mādalā Pāñji* to the Sūrya Vaṁśī rule in Orissa. We find the *Pāñji* describing the great Sūrya Vaṁśī king Kapilendradeva as of low origin and a thief during his childhood days. It is also stated that Kapilendradeva had appointed his former mate Kāśi Dāśa as his chief minister.[24] The description of the succession of Kapilendradeva to the throne of Orissa at the end of the Ganga rule is also not supported by other evidences such as inscriptions and literature. Only capital punishment would have been metted out to these compilers of the *Pāñji* had they dared to write such objectionable things regarding the members of a royal family during their own rule.

Next the *Pāñji* describes the founder of the Bhoi dynasty in Orissa, Rāmacandradeva, as a powerful king belonging to the Yadu Vaṁśa[25], whereas the Srijanga Inscription[26] describes him as a *Sūdra* king. This change of stand in the narration of the *Pāñji* only point to its commencement during the Bhoi rule in Orissa. Because of the contemporaneity of the *Pāñji* and the Bhoi dynasty no distoration of facts have been attempted in the *Pāñji* from this period. Besides, this also corroborates the local tradition which has it that the *Mādalā Pāñji* was made to be written in order to substantiate the case of Rāmacandradeva of the Bhoi dynasty for being recognised as the king of Khurda before Mansingh, the representative of the Mughal king Akbar.

That the *Mādalā Pāñji* was written during the Mughal rule over Orissa is evident from the use of such words as *amura* (*amir*), *pātīsā* (*pātsa* or *Bādsah*), *mogala* (*mughal*), *pathāna*, *navāva*, *jamindār*, *laskar*, *phauja* etc. throughout the text of the *Pāñji*[27]. Some scholars have suggested that the language used in the earlier part of the *Pāñji* belongs to the twelfth century A.D. when Coḍagaṅgadeva was ruling over Orissa. But since the entire *Pāñji* has the same language style and there is no sign of development in the language pattern between the earlier portions and the later portions the above contention seems to have been based on wrong assumption. Besides, the *Pāñji* does not contain any account of the earlier dynasties such as the Vigrahas, the Śailodhavas and the Bhauma-Karas.

Following the above it would be clear that the *Mādalā Pānji* was begun to be compiled from the sixteenth century A.D under the Bhoi kings of Orissa. As such the facts recorded in the *Pāñji* since the Bhoi rule do not clash with known facts of Orissan history and these can be taken as genuine history and the description of the pre-Bhoi rule in Orissa as found in the *Pāñji* should be considered as traditional accounts[28]. But even some of these traditions, as we shall see below, contain historical truth behind them.

A number of scholars have discussed about the Keśarī kings of the *Mādalā Pāñji* and the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa both in English and the local language. Some of these scholars are Fleet, R.L. Mitra, N.N. Vasu, Manamohana Chakravarty, B.C. Mazumdar, M.M. Ganguli, Tarini Charan Rath, Sadasiva Kavyakantha, Krupasindhu Mishra, R.P. Chanda, R.D. Banerji, Jagabandhu Singh, P. Acharya, A.B. Mohanty, R. Subba Rao, S.N. Rajaguru, K.B. Tripathy, H.K. Mahatab, M.N. Das, P.C. Rath, D.C. Sircar, A.P. Shah and K.C. Panigrahi.

From the work of Stirling it is evident that the *Pāñji* he had consulted contained a list of 39 Keśarī kings.[29] This number increased into 44 by the time of Hunter[30]. The same number is found to be referred to by Fleet[30a], P.M. Acharya[31], Sadasiva Kavyakantha[32] and Jagabandhu Singh[33]. But this number has again increased to 65 by the time A.B. Mohanty edited the *Mādalā Pāñji*[34]. Thus we see that the number of Keśarī kings as recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji* of 1822 has been on the increase and reached upto 75 in 1950[35]. The only explanation for this would be that fictitious names were being added to the list of Keśarī kings since 1822. The number of the ruling members of any dynasty cannot be decreased or increased as per the fancy of the chroniclers. As such it would seem that most of the names preserved in the list of Keśarī kings do not belong to historical persons. Before it is attempted to distinguish between the historical and fictitious names of the Keśarī dynasty it would be proper to give here the list of Keśarī kings. Though the above scholars have discussed on the subject only Jagabandhu Singh[36] and A.B. Mohanty[37] have furnished lists of the Keśarī kings in their respective works. We give below the list given in the edited version of the *Mādalā Pāñji* of A. B. Mohanty.

1. Yayāti	—1st *Pāñji* assigns	57 Year	
	2nd -do-	68 ,,	
	3rd -do-	52 ,,	Upto *Śaka* 448.
2. Sūrya	—1st -do-	30 ,,	
	2nd -do-	26 ,,	
	3rd -do-	57 ,,	*Śaka* 505.
3. Ananta	—1st -do-	14 ,,	
	2nd -do-	24 ,,	

	3rd *Pāñji* assigns	40 ,, *Śaka* 545.
4. Lalāṭa	—1st -do-	40 ,,
	2nd -do-	40 ,,
	3rd -do-	54 ,, *Śaka* 599.
5. Kanaka	—1st -do-	24 ,,
	2nd -do-	17 ,,
	3rd -do-	16 ,, *Śaka* 615.
6. Nara	—1st -do-	13 ,,
	2nd -do-	18 ,,
7. Ananta	—3rd -do-	8 ,, *Śaka* 623 (in place of Nara).
8. Gaṅga	—1st -do-	25 ,,
9. Padma	—2nd -do-	19 ,,
	3rd -do-	5 ,, *Śaka* 628 (in place of Gaṅga).
10. Vṛddha	—1st -do-	40 ,,
	3rd -do-	9 ,, *Śaka* 637.
11. Dhruva	—2nd -do-	—
12. Vaṭa	—1st -do-	26 ,,
	2nd -do-	15 ,,
	3rd -do-	11 ,, *Śaka* 648.
13. Gaja	—1st -do-	25 years.
	3rd -do-	12 ,, *Śaka* 660.
14. Rāja	—2nd -do-	—
15. Basanta	—1st -do-	2 years 7 months.
	3rd -do-	2 ,, *Śaka* 662.
16. Gandharva	—1st -do-	17 ,, 7 months 9 days.
	3rd -do-	14 ,, *Śaka* 676.
17. Janamejaya	—1st -do-	14 ,,
	3rd -do-	9 ,, *Śaka* 685.
18. Kṛṣṇa	—2nd -do-	Before Bharata.
19. Gaṇa	—2nd -do-	8 years.
20. Bharata	—1st -do-	25 ,, 6 months 2 days.
	2nd -do-	15 ,,
	3rd -do-	15 ,, *Śaka* 700.
21. Kavi	1st -do-	27 ,, 10 months 1 day.
	2nd -do-	12 ,,
	3rd -do-	14 ,, *Śaka* 714.
22. Kāma	—1st -do-	24 ,, 8 months 2 days.
	2nd -do-	16 ,,
	3rd -do-	19 ,, *Śaka* 733.
23. Kosala	—1st -do-	25 ,, —2 days.
	2nd -do-	—
	3rd -do-	18 ,, *Śaka* 751.

24.	Caṇḍa	—1st	*Pāñji* assigns	17 years 6 months 8 days
		2nd	-do-	17 ,,
		3rd	-do-	17 ,, *Śaka* 768.
25.	Pracaṇḍa	—1st	-do-	15 ,, 2 months 7 days.
		2nd	-do-	15 ,,
		3rd	-do-	19 ,, *Śaka* 787.
26.	Dhruva or Dhuma	—1st	-do-	22 ,, 6 months 4 days.
		2nd	-do-	22 ,,
27.	Amṛta	—3rd	-do-	10 ,, *Śaka* 797.
28.	Vijaya	—1st	-do-	22 ,, 3 months 18 days.
		2nd	-do-	10 ,,
		3rd	-do-	15 ,, *Śaka* 811.
29.	Caṇḍapāla	—1st	-do-	18 ,, 3 months 2 days.
		2nd	-do-	12 ,,
		3rd	-do-	14 ,, *Śaka* 826.
30.	Madhusūdana	—1st	-do-	12 ,, 4 months 6 days.
		2nd	-do-	10 ,,
		3rd	-do-	16 ,, *Śaka* 842.
31.	Dharma	—1st	-do-	27 ,, 6 months 7 days.
		2nd	-do-	19 ,,
32.	Bhauma	3rd	-do-	10 ,, *Śaka* 852.
33.	Jaya	—1st	-do-	30 ,, 3 months 3 days.
		2nd	-do-	7 ,,
		3rd	-do-	11 ,, *Saka* 863.
34.	Nṛpa	—1st	-do-	19 ,, 7 months 12 days.
		2nd	-do-	14 ,,
		3rd	-do-	12 ,, *Śaka* 875.
35.	Makara or Markata	—1st	-do-	5 ,, 2 months 14 days.
		2nd	-do-	6 ,,
		3rd	-do-	14 ,, *Śaka* 889.
36.	Tripura	—1st	-do-	18 ,, 3 months 3 days.
		3rd	-do-	10 ,, *Śaka* 899.
37.	Ghaṭa	—2nd	-do-	(After Markata Keśarī)
38.	Mādhava	—1st	-do-	14 years 8 months 12 days.
		3rd	-do-	12 ,, *Śaka* 911.
39.	Madana	—2nd	-do-	(In place of Tripura & Madhava).
40.	Govinda	—1st	-do-	8 years 9 months 18 days.
		2nd	-do-	7 ,,
		3rd	-do-	10 ,, *Śaka* 921.
41.	Nṛtya	—1st	-do-	14 ,, 2 months 15 days.
		3rd	-do-	14 ,, *Śaka* 935.
42.	Anaṅga	—2nd	-do-	6 ,, (After Govinda).

43.	Narasiṁha.	—1st *Pāñji* assigns	12	years 6 months 18 days.
		2nd -do-	—	
		3rd -do-	11	,, *Śaka* 946.
44.	Kṛma	—1st -do-	18	,, 4 months 18 days.
		3rd -do-	10	,, *Śaka* 956.
45.	Rāma	—2nd -do-	6	,, (After Narasiṁha).
46.	Gokarṇa	—1st -do-	15	,, (After Rāma & before Maccha).
47.	Maccha	—1st -do-	17	,, 9 months 23 days.
		2nd -do-	8	,, (After Gokarna & before Varāha).
		3rd -do-	16	,, *Śaka* 972.
48.	Varāha	—1st -do-	21	,, 8 months 14 days.
		2nd -do-	14	,,
		3rd -do-	15	,, *Śaka* 987.
49.	Vāmana	—1st -do-	13	,, 2 months 17 days.
		2nd -do-	13	,, *Śaka* 1000.
50.	Rāja	—2nd -do-	17	,, (After varāha & before Candra).
51.	Paraśu	—1st -do-	2	,, 3 months 11 days.
		3rd -do-	2	,, *Śaka* 1002.
52.	Candra	—1st -do-	15	,, 8 months.
		3rd -do-	6	,, (After Rāja).
		3rd -do-	12	,, *Śaka* 1014.
53.	Sujana	—1st -do-	8	,, 10 months.
		3rd -do-	7	,, *Śaka* 1021.
54.	Yadu	—2nd -do-	8	,, (After Candra).
55.	Mālati	—1st -do-		,, 8 months 10 days.
		3rd -do-	5	,, *Śaka* 1026.
56.	Bhuvana	—2nd -do-		(After Yadu).
57.	Purañjaya	—1st -do-	3	,, 9 months 5 days.
		3rd -do-	3	,, *Śaka* 1029.
58.	Bhīma	—2nd -do-	8	,, (After Bhuvana).
59.	Vasukalpa	—1st -do-	12	,, 7 months 19 days.
		3rd -do-	12	,, *Śaka* 1041.
60.	Lakṣmaṇa	—2nd -do-	7	,, (After Bhīma).
61.	Indra	—1st -do-	3	,, 2 months 5 days.
		3rd -do-	4	,, *Śaka* 1045.
62.	Ghaṭa	—1st -do-	5	,, (After Lakṣmaṇa).
63.	Dhruva	—2nd -do-	2	,, (After Ghata).
64.	Basanta	—2nd -do-	2	,,
65.	Sūnya	—1st -do-	3	,, 2 months 11 days.
		3rd -do-	9	,, *Śaka* 1054.

Jagabandhu Singh[38] has given the names of 50 Keśarī kings in his book and further states that there are other Keśarī names excluding the 50. Such names as Parā Keśarī, Dhṛta Keśarī Candāla Keśarī, Bhupāla Keśarī, Lakṣmī Keśarī, Saraśaṁkha Keśarī, Śiśupāla Keśarī and Dharmaśīla Keśarī which are found in Jagabandhu Singh's list are not to be noticed in the list of the published *Mādalā Pāñji* given above. P.C. Ratha has drawn our attention to two names of Keśarī kings *viz.*, Śubhākara Keśarī and Mukunda Keśarī[39] which are also absent in the list given above. Thus when these 10 names are added to the 65 names noted above we get a total number of 75 Keśarī kings. That the list of A.B. Mohanty contains 44 names and not 65 names is evident if one takes into account the names of the kings against whom the *Saka* era has been used. From the comparative statements of the three *Pāñjis* as given in the above list of A.B. Mohanty it would lead us to believe that the Third *Pāñji* which records the reign periods of each king and the *Saka* year was similar to the *Pāñji* referred to by Hunter and others during the late 19th century A.D.

We now give below the names of the Somavaṁśī kings known from their epigraphic records and similar names found in the list of Keśarī kings of the *Mādalā Pāñji*.

Somavaṁśa.	*Keśarī Vaṁśa & Sl. No. from the list of Pāñji*	
(1) Janamejaya-I	Janmejaya Keśarī	—(17)
(2) Yayāti-I	Yayāti Keśarī	—(1)
(3) Bhīmaratha	Bhīma Keśarī	—(58)
(4) Dharmaratha	Dharma Keśarī	—(31)
(5) Indraratha	Indra Keśarī	—(61)
(6) Yayāti-II	—	
(7) Udyota Keśarī	Ananta Keśarī	—(3)
	or/and	
	Lalāṭa Keśarī	—(4)
(8) Janamejaya-II	—	
(9) Purañjaya	Purañjaya Keśarī	—(57)
(10) Karṇṇa	—	

From the above it is thus clear that most of the names of the Somavaṁśī kings are preserved in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. From the name of the cave Lalāteṇdu Keśarī Gumphā at Khandagiri near Bhubaneswar where we come across an inscription of Udyota Keśarī of the Somavaṁśa scholars have suggested that the name of the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī has been presented in the local traditions as Latāṭendu Keśarī or Lalāta Keśarī[40]. Besides in the *Pāñji* we find that the name Ananta succeeds Yayāti Keśarī in chronological order. Panigrahi takes Ananta Keśarī to be a corrupt form of Udyotakeśarī. The *Pāñji* also has not distinguished between the two Janamejayas and Yayātis and assigns the achievements of Yayāti II of the Somavaṁśa to Yayāti Keśarī. From the inscriptions we know that Udyotakeśarī was the son of Yayāti II. In the *Pāñji* after Yayāti Keśarī the names of

Sūrya Keśarī, Ananta Keśarī and Lalāta Keśarī are given in order of succession and the building of the Lingarāja temple has been ascribed to the above four kings. At the same time the *Pāñji* records that the building of the temple was completed in three generations. Panigrahi thinks that Surya Keśarī was probably a second name of Yayāti Kaśarī. Accordingly he identifies both Ananta Keśarī and Lalāṭa Keśarī with Udyotakeśarī of the Somavaṁśā.[41]

It is surprising that while we get the name of Indra Keśarī we do not come across the name of Nahuṣa from the *Mādalā Pāñji*. This would corroborate the view, stated earlier[42] that Indraratha and Nahuṣa of the Somavaṁśī records were one and the same person. Thus we see that most of the names of the historical Somavaṁśa are preserved in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. But their chronological order has been altered.

Then the question arises as to how the number of Keśarī kings are more as given in the *Pāñji*? It has already been stated above that the number of the Keśarī kings has increased from 36 in 1825 to 75 in 1950. This single factor would prove that more fictitious names have been added to the list of Keśarī kinds in recent times. The imaginary and fictitious character of some of these names have been clearly proved by K.C. Panigrahi[43] in his Oriya monograph.

That some of the names of the Keśarī kings are of imaginary nature and derived from various sources would be clear by the following examples.

We come across such names as Narasiṁha Keśarī, Kṛma (Kūrma) Keśarī, Rāma Keśarī, Maccha (Matsya) Keśarī, Varāha Keśarī, Vāmana Keśarī, Paraśu Keśarī in the *Pāñji*. These names were no doubt adopted from the first seven of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu* and only their order has been changed to show their authenticity.

The names of Ananta Keśarī, Gaṅga Keśarī, Anaṅga Keśarī, Narasiṁha Keśarī and Rāja Keśarī seem to have been derived from the names of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. The first imperial Gaṅga king to occupy Orissa was known as Ananta Varman Coḍagaṅga. The other important members of this family in Orissa were Anaṅgabhīmadeva, Narasiṁhadeva and Rājarājadeva. The application of the term Keśarī at the end of the first names of these kings and the name of the dynasty have resulted in the creation of the above names.

A similar name Mukunda Keśarī has been derived from the name of the last Hindu king of Orissa called Mukundadeva.[44] Another such example is the name Bhauma Keśarī, derived from the Bhauma-kara dynasty of Orissa who were the predecessors of the Somavaṁśīs. Another name Śubhākara Keśarī was probably derived from the name of a Bhauma-kara king known from their epigraphic records as Śūbhakaradeva. From the geographical name Kosala[45] is derived the name Kosala Kesarī

The *Mādalā Pāñji* assigns the building of the Śiśupālagarh, Śārāṅgagarh and the Caṇḍeśvara temple respectively to Śiśupāla Keśarī, Śārañga Keśarī and Caṇḍa Keśarī. But from archaeological excavations[46] it has been proved that the

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*The ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are—Matsya, Kacchapa or Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki.

Śiśupālagarh was constructed in the third century B.C. Similarly the Śāraṅgagarh near the Barang Railway Station in the district of Cuttack has been assigned to the rule of Coḍagaṅgadeva[47] and the Caṇḍeśvara temple near Tangi of Puri district is assigned to the Gaṅga rule in Orissa from its archaeological peculiarities. Thus it would be clear that the above names of the *Mādalā Pānji* have been derived from the respective monuments.

In the Oriyā *Mahābhārata* of Saraladāśa we come across the names of Caṇḍra Keśarī, Vīra Keśarī, Narakeśarī, Pracaṇḍa Keśarī and Padma Keśarī which have also been found from the *Pāñji*.[48] The first three of these names are stated in the above *Mahābharatha* as three of the five sons of Draupadī. Padma Keśarī has been referred to in connection with the kings who had attended the *Svayamvara* of Draupadī and Uttarā. Pracaṇḍa Keśarī is mentioned as an ancestor of the wrestler who fought with Bhīma, while the Pāṇḍavas stayed in the kingdom of Virāṭa during their exile.

The *Pāñji* has certain names such as Kavi Keśarī, Kāma Keśarī, Pracaṇḍa Keśarī, Vijaya Keśarī, Madhuṣūdana Keśarī who are described to have possessed the qualities representing their names[49]. Thus Kavi Keśarī is described to have acquired a lot of knowledge; Kāma Keśarī became very passionate, Vijaya Keśarī was Victorious; and Madhuṣūdana became very cruel in his behaviour.

From the above discussion it is apparent that most of the names can be eliminated automatically from the list of Keśarī kings, being of imaginary and fictitious character. This would also clear the point as to how the names of the Keśarī kings have gone on increasing in different copies of the *Mādalā Pāñji*.

P.M. Acharya[50] for the first time made the ingenious suggestion that Yayāti Keśarī of the *Mādalā Pāñji* should be identified with Yayāti, son of Janamejaya, of the Somavaṁśī copper plates. Next Fleet in his long discussion on the Somavaṁśī inscriptions[51] also suggested that the Keśarī dynasty of the local annals should be taken as the Somavaṁśī dynasty of the copper plate records. The common name of Yayāti found in both the *Pāñji* and the epigraphic records has led scholars, since the 19th century, to believe that both the Keśarivaṁśa and Somavaṁśa as one and a single dynasty. Regarding the title Keśarīvaṁśa ascribed to the Somavaṁśa in the *Mādalā Pāñji* Panigrahi[52] suggests that *Keśarī* was a popular title in Orissa like *Gajapati*. He further states that though the title *Gajapati* is not found frequently from the epigraphic records yet the kings of Orissa, from the Gaṅga dynasty onwards, were generally referred to as Gajapatis by the local people as well as the people from outside Orissa. According to him all the kings of the pre-Gaṅga period were referred to as Keśarīs by the outside people. An autographed Buddhist manuscript named *Gaṇḍavyuha*, the last section of the *Buddhāyatamśaka*, was received by the Chinese emperor Te-tsong from the king of Oḍra in A.D. 975[53]. The name of the king of Orissa has been translated by S. Levi[54] as "the fortunate monarch, who does what is pure, the lion", who has been generally identified with Śivakaradeva I of the Bhauma-kara dynasty of Orissa[55]. The name of the king of Orissa as written in Chinese as stated above, would read as "Śubhākara Keśarī" in Oriya language[56]. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranadi, as already seen above,[57] describes that

Jayasimha, the leiutenant of Rāma Pālā of Bengal, had defeated Karṇṇa Keśarī, the king of Orissa. Probably this 'Keśarī' title was used by the chroniclers of the *Mādalā Pāñji*, due to its popularity even outside Orissa to indicate the dynasties who ruled before the Gaṅgas. In order to account for the long period from A.D. 473 to 1132, a long list of names was naturally incorporated into this single Keśarī dynasty.

As stated earlier, the *Mādalā Pāñji* before the period of the Bhoi rule contain a number of traditional accounts. That some of these traditions contain historical truth behind them would be clear from the following.

Prior to the rule of Yayāti Keśarī the *Mādalā Pāñji* records the tradition of an invasion of Orissa by one Raktavāhu. The main outline of the story is that "in the reign of Śubhanadeva (ruler of Orrisa) when Raktavāhu approached Puri with his army, the king of Orissa fled from the city with the images of Jagannātha and his associates lodged in a cart and reached his western frontier in Śonepur where he buried the images at a place known as Gopali, and that after a lapse of 146 years Yayāti Keśarī (during his reign) got the images dug out, made new images, built a new temple at Puri and enshrined them there"[58].

Panigrahi thinks that the above tradition is nothing but the distorted verision of the historical fact of Rāṣṭrakuṭa invasion of Orissa[59]. The Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa[60] reveal that the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Govinda III (A.D. 793-814) had conquered Kosala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Ḍāhala and Oḍraka. Under Govinda III the Rāṣṭrakuṭas became invincible every where and there is little doubt that they also invaded Orissa (Oḍraka)[61]. Panigrhi identified the adversary of Govinda III in Orissa with Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-kara dynasty (*circa* A.D. 790 to 810)[62]. As per his identification the interval of 146 years fits in well with the reigns of Govinda III and Śubhākaradeva I on one hand and Yayāti Keśarī or Yayāti I (*circa* A.D. 925 to 950) on the other.

The discovery of the Degaon Copper Plates[63] of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king Mugdhagondaladeva and the Bargarh Plates[64] of Paracakraśalyadeva of the same family prove the presence of a Rāṣṭrakuṭa family in Orissa. The Degaon plates further help in corroborating Panigrahi's above theory. We can now assume that the Rāṣṭrakuṭa family of the above two records came to Orissa during the invasion of Govinda III and settled here. Thus the discovery of the Degaon Plates, belonging to the reign of Janamejaya I, helps us in corroborating the traditions recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji*. This also helps us in fixing the chronology of the Bhauma-kara and Somavaṁśī dynasties.

We shall discuss in the next chapter the traditions recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñji* which assigns the building of several monuments of Orissa to the members of Keśarī dynasty. Thus it can be seen that the *Mādalā Pāñji* in its earlier portion contains some genuine historical truths in the guise of traditions which are yet to be examined in detail by the scholars. In conclusion it can be said that the *Mādalā Pāñji* can be compared with those few rare manuscripts containing historical facts, such as the *Harṣacarita*, *Rājataraṅgini*, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, *Rāmacarita* etc.

Notes and References

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6. N.K. Sahu & others, Ed. *Op. cit.*, p. 224.
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14. *A.R.B.*, p. 238.
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16a. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 334-340 ff.

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28. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
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30a. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 334-340.

31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-69.
32. *Jagannatha Mandira*, (Oriya), p. 39.
33. *Prācina Utkala*, (Oriya), pp. 273-275.
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52. *Op. cit.*, p. 80.
53. U.K. Subudhi, *The Bhauma-Karas of Orisso*, p. 48.
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8

CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOMAVAṀŚĪS TO ORISSAN CULTURE

The Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa ushered in a great change in the political and the cultural life of the people and the Somavaṁśī kings are best remembered for their contribution to the development of the cultural heritage of the Oriya people. Geographically the present State of Orissa owes its origin to the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa when the distinct and different geographical units of ancient Orissa *viz.* Utkala, Kosala, Kaliṅga, Koṅgoda and Oḍra were brought under the control of a single administration. With this integrated political system, based upon a strong kingdom with secured boundary lines, the pace was set in motion for an alround development in the field of learning, religion, art, architecture and other cultural aspects of life. There was a fusion of thoughts and practices under the Somavaṁśīs imbibed from the different cultures of the different regions, alongwith the process of geographical unification and political integration, which later changed into a grand cultural synthesis. This phenomenon is evident from the large number of monuments and sculptures of the period, these we have inherited today. These archaeological evidences, belonging to different religious thoughts, provide us with an adequate ideas about the development in religion, art and architecture that took place under the Somavaṁśī period of Orissan history.

1. RELIGION

(*a*) *Jainism*:—Jainism was a predominant faith of the Oriya people during the earliest times. It almost attained the status of state religion during the time of Khāravela about the first century B.C. After Khāravela the popularity of Jainism had declined due to the absence of royal patronage. But the faith and the movement did not completely die down in ancient Orissa. In fact Jainism could not ascend to the top position in the post Khāravela period as it did, for a short period, during Khāravela's time. We come across occasional references from various sources to the existence of Jainism in different parts of ancient Orissa, during the pre-Somavaṁśī period. The accounts of Hiuen Tsang reveal that "Kaliṅga had 10 Saṅghārāmas with 100 priests and 500 Hindu temples with different sorts of unbelievers most of whom were Nirgranthas".[1] Following this A. P. Shah suggests that Nirgranthas, who later came to be called Jainas, were numerous in Kaliṅga during the first half of the 7th century[2]. From the accounts of the same famous chinese traveller it is further known to us that the people of *Kung-Yu-t'o* (Kongoda)" were not Buddhists. Deva temples were above 100 in number; and of Tīrthikas there were more than 1000"[3]. This led Debala Mitra to consider Koṅgoda as a stronghold of Jainism in this epoch where Buddhism could not establish itself upto that time.[4] Prevalence of Jainism in Koṅgoda about this time is further attested to by epigraphic evidence. Kalyāṇadevī, the queen of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhita is known to have donated three timpiras of land to the Jaina monks called *Arhatācārya* Naśicandra and his disciple (*śiṣya*)—Ekaśata Prabodhacandra[5]. A few bronze sculptures of the Jain pantheon found from Achutarajapur[6], and assignable to the eighth-ninth century A. D. would also suggest the prevalence of the faith in the Koṅgoda area before the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.

According to K.C. Panigrahi[7] "Jainism suffered an eclipse with the subsequent rise of Buddhism and Śaivism in Orissa after the fall of Khāravela's dynasty in about the first century B.C." But Jainism continued to co-exist along-with other religious sects and one of the causes of its survival was the non-antagonistic attitude it adopted all along towards Hinduism. This is evident from the Jaina images traced throughout Orissa, which are assignable not only to the dark period of Orissan history (first century B.C. to the seventh century A.D.) but also to subsequent historical periods[8]. These Jain Tīrthaṅkara images are to be found at Ākhaṇḍaleśvara temple premises at Narasimhapur and at Hatadiha, all located in the close vicinity of Jajpur in Cuttack district; Charampa and Ayodhya in the Balasore district; at Jagannātha temple in Baripada of Mayurbhanja district; Podasingidi[9], Baidakhia and Champua in the Keonjhar district; Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar[10] and the Prāci valley[11]. From this it would seem that Jainism continued to co-exist as a minor religion even in the ancient Utkala or Oḍra region before the advent of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa.

But during the Somavaṁśī rule Jainism got a new impetus probably as the result of the royal patronage extended to it by the Somavaṁśī king Udyotakeśarī. This is attested to by the three short inscriptions[12] found engraved inside the Lalāṭendu Keśarī cave and the Navamuni cave of the Khaṅdagiri hill, near Bhubaneswar, which again became the main centre for building activities of the Jainas during the period under discussion. The first of these inscriptions, found in the Lalāṭendu Keśarī cave reads as follows:

"In the year 549 in the victorious reign of Śrī Udyotakeśarī the decayed wells and decayed tanks were shown (i.e. cleansed) for bathing and drinking and (the images of) twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras were established (i.e. carved on the walls of the cave) on the auspicious Kumāra *Parvata*. If any heretic causes even damage (to them), such a cheat (will) excite the anger of Śrī Pārśvanātha by his act"[13].

We have already seen[14] that the above year 549 was expressed in reference to the Ganga era and corresponds to A.D. 1047. From the above inscription it is also evident that the present hillock of Khandagiri was known as Kumāra *Parvata* during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. It further reveals that charitable works such as cleansing the wells for providing drinking water to the Jaina ascetics and establishing the images of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, inside the above cave, were undertaken during Udyotakeśarī's rule.

The first of the two inscriptions found inside the Navamuni cave of the same hill informs us that "in the year 18 of the ever-increasing and victorious reign of Śrī Udyotakeśarīdeva (this cave temple) belonged to (i.e. was caused to be excavated by) Śubhacandra, disciple of Śrī Kulacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, for the abode of the sages belonging to Aryasamgha and coming from Garhwal one cave temple"[15]. The second inscription reads as follows:—

"The Umbrella with the staff belongs to (i.e. dedicated by) Śubhacandra, novice disciple of Śrī Ācārya Kulacandra"[16].

From the above two inscriptions it would mean that Śubhacandra, disciple of Śrī Kulacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, was a Jaina monk residing in the caves of Khandagiri hill and that he made arrangements for the stay of obviously Jaina ascetics coming from Garhwal. He had also dedicated a staff with umbrella probably to some Jaina deities which was a common practice with the Budhists and the Jainas[17]. K.C. Panigrahi, who had re-edited the above inscriptions, thinks that a cave temple was caused to be excavated by Śrī Śubhacandra at Khandagiri. He again considers the Lalāṭendu Keśarī cave, the Navamuni cave and the Bārabhuji cave as a later group of caves. But according to R.P. Mahapatra[18] these caves were not excavated during the period under discussion. But they were earlier caves refashioned, as evident from their architectural peculiarities, for the installation of the deities of the Jaina pantheon. This refashioning took place, during the reign of Udyotakeśarīdeva, by increasing the height of the cells by way of deepening their floor level. We find in some of these caves the figures of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and their respective Śāśanadevīs alongwith their attributes, in hands, postures, lanchanas, decorative pedestals, *Keval* trees, trilinear umbrella etc.[19]

That the Jainas renewed their activities at other places in Orissa, besides the Khandagiri hill near Bhubaneswar, is evident from the large number of Jaina sculptures, we come across in those places, which can be assigned to the period under discussion. These places are Ayodhya and Charampa of Balasore district; Podasingidi of Keonjhar district; Jajpur and Adasapur of Cuttack district; Panchagaon and Bagalpur of Puri district; and Nadapur, Chatua, Subei, Kachela, B. Singhpur, Charamula, Kamata, Jamunda and Jeypore town of Koraput district. We find Jaina temples at Subei whereas images of the different Tīrthaṅkaras and the Śāśanadevīs are to be noticed at other places. From the concentration of the Jaina antiquities it can be inferred that Puri, Keonjhar, Balasore and Koraput districts were the strong holds of Jainism during the Somavaṁśī period. The findings of a large number of Jaina antiquities in the district of Koraput*, which formed a part of the Trikaliṅga territory[20], is significant.

From the Jaina antiquities, assignable to the period, it is evident that both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara schools of thought were prevalent in

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*Some of the Jaina sites of the Koraput district have been very recently explored.

Orissa. It also seems that Jainism, like Buddhism, was strongly influenced by the faiths and practices of the Brahmanical religion.[21] The rise of the Śakti cult synchronised with the rise of a new philosophy and a new attitude towards divine consorts.[22] This new attitude sought to indicate that not the God as such but the Goddess (his Śakti) associated with him was responsible for the creation, maintenance and destruction of the Universe. This had led to the depiction of the Śāśanadevīs alongwith their respective Jīnas in the Jaina sculptures of Orissa. This event first took place during the rule of the Somavaṁśīs in Orissa as evident from the images of Śāśanadevīs depicted alongwith the Tīrthaṅkaras in the aforesaid caves of the Khandagiri hill.

Thus Jainism, which was dormant for about a few centuries, became active and ascended to a higher position under the Somavaṁśīs while making a rich contribution to the religious history of the State.

(*b*) *Buddhism :*— From the antiquarain remains of this faith it seems that Buddhism was very popular and it flourished well in Orissa, but not during the life time of its founder, Buddha. Buddhism in fact could not have hold over Orissa before the time of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka. The early Buddhist texts, recording the biography and travels of Buddha, do not inform us about the visit of the Enlightened one to this region. But as already stated earlier two merchants from Ukkala (Utkala) are stated to have been the first lay disciples of Buddha. From the Nikāyas it is gathered that the Vassa and Bhanna pupils of Ukkala accepted the teaching of the Great Forty which was delivered by Buddha at Jetavan.[23] A passage of the Major Rock-Edict No. XIII of Aśoka[24] reveals that there were sramanas alongwith adherents of other sects in Kaliṅga before the Maurya emperor invaded that country. Debala Mitra thinks that in the face of Aśoka's conciliatory attitude towards the people of Kaliṅga, it is very likely that Aśoka did not exert undue pressure while propogating the faith of Buddha in Kaliṅga.[25]

Aśoka is believed to have constructed a monastry for his brother Tissa at a place called Bhojakagiri.[26] From the accounts of Hieun Tsang it is known that Asoka built more than ten stupas in *Wu* (*U*)—*t'u* or Oḍra at places where Buddha had preached. Since the early Buddhist texts do not corroborate Buddha's visit to Orissa the above accounts of the Chinese traveller may not be considered as fact. Hieun Tsang also reports to have seen a *stupa*, believed to have been erected by Aśoka, near the capital of Kaliṅga.

It seems that Buddhism gradually expanded its hold on the religious life of Orissa since the time of Aśoka, as evident from the archaeological and epigraphic sources. The forepart of an elephant near the Dhauli Rock Edicts, the huge Śivaliṅga inside the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, the railing posts and the lion capital discovered from the close vicinity of the Bhāskareśvara temple and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, had led some scholars to suggest the existence of an Aśokan Pillar as well as a *stūpa* at Bhubaneswar during the time of Aśoka[27]. But D. Mitra assigns the above archaeological specimens, excluding the elephant sculpture at Dhauli, to first century B.C. on stylistic grounds[28]. At the same time he suggests that there was a Budhist establishment near the Bhāskareśvara temple during the early medieval period as evident from the find of images of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Tārā in the same locality. She also does not rule out the prevalence of Buddhism in the area around Bhubaneswar before the seventh century A.D. This view is supported by the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscription[29] of the Ikṣvāku King Vīrapuruṣadatta (second half of the third century A.D.) which records the preaching of the Ceylonese monks in Tosalī, generally identified with the area around the present Dhauli. That Mahāyāna seems to have gained ground in the city of Tosalī at least in the fourth century A.D. is also known from the *Gaṇḍavyuha*.[30]

Buddhism was probably eclipsed with the rise of Śaivism at Bhubaneswar about the seventh century A.D. In fact Bhubaneswar, the temple town, has a large number of Śaiva shrines dating back from the seventh century A.D. Bhubaneswar became a main Śaiva centre with the active royal patronage it received from the different royal dynasties such as the Śailodbhavas, the Bhauma-karas and the Somavaṁśīs". "But the imprint of the images of Buddha on the figures of the defied Pāśupata teacher Lakulīśa on the temples of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. is unmistakable. But for the staff (*lakuṭa*), the images of Lakulīśa would easily be confounded with those of Buddha"[31]. The findings of the images of Lokeśvara[32], assignable to the eighth-ninth century A.D. from the close proximity of the Bhāskareśvara temple would point to the existence of Buddhists at Bhubaneswar before the rule of the Somavaṁśī kings.

Other Buddhist establishments grew up in ancient Orissa from the time of the Guptas. Ratnagiri in the district of Cuttack was one such centre. From the Buddhist literary sources we get reference to the Ratnagiri *vihāra*, built during the time of king Buddhapakśa in the country of Odiviśa[33]. A large scale excavation conducted at this site by the Archaeological Survey of India has brought to notice the remains of a large Buddhist establishment dating from the epoch of the Gupta king Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya[34] (first half of the sixth century A.D.) who was probably referred to as Buddhapaksa by the Buddhists[35]. Buddhism has a unhindered growth at this centre as well as the nearby places of Lalitagiri and Udayagiri from this time onwards. At both these places large number of Buddhist sculptures and extensive ruins in the shape of mounds are still to be noticed. These above places were important centres of Mahāyāna form of Buddhism.

Another important Mahāyāna centre, belonging to the sixth century A.D. or earlier, was located at Jayarampur in the district of Balasore. The finds from this place include a metal image of Buddha. a stone image of a goddess and a copper-plate. The copper-plate[36] belonging to Copacandra and issued in his first regnal year records the grant of the village Śvetabalika to the Mahāyānist *bhikṣu-saṅgha* for the construction of a *Vihāra* at Bodhapadraka; identified with present Jayarampur. The Sumandala Copper Plates[37], dated in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 569), describes the donor Pṛthivīvigraha, as a *Bhaṭṭāraka*. Pṛthivīvigraha was apparently ruling over the Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra as a feudatory of the Guptas and the use of the epithet *Bhaṭṭāraka* by the king would lead us to believe that Buddhism had some influence over Kaliṅga by the sixth century A.D. Charles Louis Fabri draws our attention to some Buddhist sites of western Orissa, which formed part of the Kosala territory. One of these sites is located at Ganiapalli in the district of Sambalpur, which he assigns to a period from the early centuries to the sixth century A.D.[38] Buddhism was in a flourishing state in Orissa during the seventh century A.D. From Hieun Tsang's account we come across the names of several Buddhist centres located in the three regions of the then Orissa, viz., Oḍra, Koṅgoda and Kaliṅga. The people of Oḍra, according to the Chinese pilgrim, 'were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad Brethern all Mahāyānists"[39]. He also refers to the famous monastery *Pu-sie-P'o-k'i-li* or Puṣpagiri and the sea port *Che-li-ta-lo*. Unfortunately both the above places have not yet been satisfactorily identified. The excavation at Ratnagiri has revealed that during the seventh century A.D. the Monastery 2 of the period II was built.

With the rise of the Bhauma-kara kings to power about A.D. 736. Buddhism got a further impetus. The first four rulers of this dynasty—Kṣemaṅkardeva, Śivakaradeva-I, Śubhākaradeva-I, and Śubhākaradeva-II—had extended royal patronage to this faith and bore such epithets as *Paramopāsaka*, *Parama-tathāgata*, *Parama-saugata* and *Saugatāśraya*, respectively.[40] During the rule of Śivakaradeva I of this dynasty about A.D. 795, a copy of the *Gaṇḍavyuha* was sent to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong.[41] All the above kings not merely professed the faith but took active interest in the furtherance of Buddhism. This is evident from the Dhenkanal plate of Trībhuvana-mahādevī-I[42]. Even these kings of the dynasty who did not profess the faith had donated lands to Buddhist establishments[43]. The Bhauma-kara records refer to the Buddhist establishments of Jayāśrama-*vihāra* and a cave at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar. Jayāśrama-*vīhara* has been identified with Jagati near Talcher[44]. Gopinathpur near Talcher with its extensive mounds and Buddhist images was no doubt a flourishing Buddhist centre during the Bhauma-kara rule in Orissa[45].

Other Buddhist sites assignable[46] to this period are Khadipada-Mohanapara, Ayodhya, Kupari[47] Solampur in the Balasore district; Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Kulanagiri and Rameśvara alongwith the Ratnagiri in the valley of Birupa-Citrotpala in the Cuttack district, Banesvaranasi and Chaudwar; the Prāci valley;[48] and Baud town in the Phulabani district. Most of these places have yielded a large number of Buddhist images such as Buddha in different postures, Bodhisattva figures, Tārā Mārici, etc.

From the study of these Buddhist sculptures it is evident that the Mahāyāna doctrine gradually transformed itself into Vajrayāna about the middle of the ninth century A.D. and the overwhelming number of Vajrayāna images would point out that Vajrayāna found a most fertile soil in ancient Orissa. King Indrabhutī and his sister Lakṣmīṅkara of Uḍḍiyāna, identified with Orissa by scholars[49], were great exponents of Vajrayāna, also called Tāntric Buddhism. The introduction of Tantric form of worship in the Mahāyāna-Buddhism ushered in a new stage in the development of the history of Buddhism in Orissa, which attained its pinnacle of glory during the Bhauma-kara regime.

With the advent of the Somavaṁśī kings the position of Buddhism does not seem to change much in Orissa. The Somavaṁśī kings were mostly the followers of Brāhminism. But their secular approach towards the followers of the other faiths had helped the Buddhists and the Jainas to carry on with their activities, which they certainly did, until after the Somavaṁśī rule ended in Orissa about A.D. 1112. Buddhism flourished unabated, but in certain selected centres, as indicated by the archaeological evidences of our period.

Buddhist antiquities belonging to our period are found mainly at Ayodhya and Solampur of Balasore district; Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri, Brahmavana near Salipur, Kendupatna (Birupa-Citrotpala valley), Chaudwar and Banesvaranasi of Cuttack district; the Prācī valley; and Kuruma, Banpur, Haripur and Bhubaneswar of Puri district. These antiquities include various images of Vajrayāna and Mahāyāna pantheon.

We do not have many recorded evidences to show the state of Buddhism in Orissa during the period under discussion. Two copper plate charters of the Somavaṁśī dynasty give us some information about Buddhism. The Banpur Charter[50] of Indraratha, discovered from a place called Achutarajapur near Banpur, states that the king granted a village to defray the cost of ritualistic offerings to be made to Khadiravaṇi-*bhaṭṭārikā*, considered to be a Tārā image[51] of Koṅgoda *maṇḍala*. The Ratnagiri Charter of the last Somavaṁśī king Karṇṇadeva was discovered within a mound at Ratnagiri which, on excavation, revealed a single-winged monastery. The Charter[52] records the grant of a village in favour of Rāṇī-Karpuraśrī who hailed from Solanapura-*mahāvihāra*. We have seen earlier that Rāṇī-Karpuraśrī probably belonged to a family of professional dancers. D. Mitra[53] suggests that probably Karpuraśrī passed her retired life in Ratnagiri-*mahāvihāra* either as a lay devotee or a *bhikṣuṇī* and the village was donated to meet her expenses at Ratnagiri. Solanapura-*mahāvihāra* and Koṅgoda referred to in the above Somavaṁśī records were known centres of Buddhism from the earlier period.

From the Tibetan accounts it appears that Orissa, particularly the institution of Ratnagiri, played a significant role in the emergence of the Kālacakra-*tantra*[54]. The practice of Kālacakrayāna, an offshoot of *Vajrayāna*, was introduced towards the end of the tenth century A.D. From the Tibetan references it seems that Ratnagiri had become a renowned centre of learning in Buddhist practices during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. One such source from *Tibet Pag Sam Jon Zang*[55] states "at the last moment of the king (Mahipāla) Ācārya Bitobā came and Vajrapāṇi instructed him to go through magic to Sambhāla[56] where *Kālacakra* would be found. He went there and brought it to Ratnagiri and explained the doctrine to *Bhikṣu* Abadhutipa, Bodhiśrī and Naropa".[57] According to D. Mitra[58] Ratnagiri's importance during this period as an important centre of Vajrayāna and its offshoot Kālacakrayāna is evident from the numerous votive stūpas with reliefs of divinities of the Vajrayāna pantheon, separate images of these divinities and inscribed stone slabs and moulded terracotta plaques with dhāraṇīs found as the result of excavation at Ratnagiri.

So we find that during the rule of the Somavaṁśīs Vajrayāna and its offshoot Kālacakrayāna flourished in Orissa, Ratnagiri being their main centre. It can be said that Buddhism, like Jainism, had prospered well during this period. The state of Buddhism during the period is evident from the numerous sculptures of this faith, marking the excellence attained in the field of plastic art under the Somavaṁśī regime. Besides, the name and fame of the Buddhist centres of this period spread for and wide. Kālacakra-*tantra*, as stated above, was an important contribution of this period to the history of Buddhism.

(*c*) *Śaivism* :—Śaivism or the cult of Śiva could not make its appearance in Orissa before the fourth-fifth century A.D. We do not come across any evidence suggesting the prevalence of this cult during the early centuries of the Christian era from any part of Orissa. The religious scene of Orissa during this early period, as already stated, seems to have been dominated by the Buddhists and probably the Jainas. The age of the Guptas saw the revival of the Brāhmanical faiths in ancient India. This in turn paved the way for the emergence of the different sects of Brāhmanism in many parts of the Indian sub-continent. Members of the ruling classes actively supported the cult of either Śiva or Viṣṇu from this time onwards.

In Orissa also most of the members of the different ruling families, as it appears from their epigraphic records, started to profess the cult of Śiva from about the fifth century A.D. The occurrence of the epithet of *Paramamāheśvara*, considered to indicate devotion to Lord Śiva, became a common feature in the inscriptions of Orissa. Verses describing Śiva in his different manifestations begin to appear in the inscriptions of Orissa. Śiva was also accepted as the tutelary deity of some ruling families.

Thus the early Nala kings of Kosala (fifth century A.D.) Bhavadattavarman[59] and Arthapati[60] declare themselves as devotees of Śiva and that their kingdom was bestowed upon them by the grace of Maheśvara. The Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga-nagara, who started their rule about A.D. 498, were great patrons of Śaivism. The epigraphic records of this family describe Gokarṇeśvara on the top of mount Mahendra as their tutelary deity[61]. The Kanas Plates[62] of Lokavigraha ruling over Kaliṅga-*rāṣṭra*, record the grant of a village to the deity Maṇināgeśvara-*bhaṭṭāraka*, apparently a Śaiva deity, in the year A.D. 599 or 600. But in Utkala territory (North Orissa to be precise) Śaivism seems to have gained popularity after Śaśāṅka occupied the territory in the early part of the seventh century A.D. Śaśāṅka was a great patron of Śaivism. He is credited to have built a shrine for the lord Tribhuvaneśvara at Ekāmra-*kṣetra*. This tradition is recorded in some later literary works of Orissa such as the *Kapila Saṁhitā*[63], the *Svarṇādrī Mahodaya*[64] and the *Ekāmra Candrikā*[65] wherein Śaśāṅka is some times referred to as Candra or Candrama. According to K.P. Panigrahi the temple built by Śaśāṅka for Tribhuvaneśvara or Liṅgarāja has been replaced by the present great temple of Liṅgarāja[66].

But before Śaśāṅka's conquest of Utkala and Koṅgoda the Śailodbhavas rose to power in Koṅgoda in the sixth century A.D. Under the rule of this dynasty Śaivism flourished at Bhubaneswar, which was included in the Śailodbhava kingdom, and other places. This is evident from the group of Śiva temples built in those places during the later part of the sixth century A.D.[67] The Śailodbhava kings were great devotees of God Śiva. Their epigraphic records contain beautiful verses describing Śiva. To cite an example, the Ganjam Grant of Mādhavarāja II states that he was, "devoted to the feet of the blissful Master of the three worlds who is the cause of creation, existence and destruction, whose arms are placed on the hump of great bull resembling the pillow of a couch and whose matted hair is illuminated by the crescent of the moon".[68] It seems that the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism became popular in Orissa during the time of the Śailodbhavas. This is evident from the representation of the Pāśupata teacher, Lakulīśa, on the temple walls from this period.

The Pāśupata sect further gained ground in Orissa under the rule of the Bhauma-karas. Though the earlier members of this dynasty were avowedly Buddhists they did not stand in the way for the development of Śaivism. Mādhavīdevī,[69] the queen of the Buddhist king Śubhākaradeva I, is known to have built the temple of Mādhaveśvara Śiva and appointed a Śaiva *Ācārya* for conducting the worship. Śubhākaradeva IV was the first Śaivite ruler of the family and he declared himself as *Paramamāheśvara*. Other Bhauma-kara charters record donation to Śaiva deities such as Vaidyanātha *bhaṭṭāruka*, Umā-Maheśvara and the like.[70]

During the eighth-ninth century A.D. the Mattamayūra form of Śaivism became popular in Kosala or western Orissa. Present Ranipur-Jharial in the district of Bolangir, then known as Soma-*tīrtha*, became the main centre of this Śaiva cult in Orissa. This cult probably flourished under the patronage of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of Kosala. An inscription[71] found in the Someśvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial and assigned to the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.[72] records the construction of the temple by Gagana-śiva, who hailed from Teramba situated in the north.

The above facts are also corroborated by archaeological evidences. The Naṭarāja image from Asanapat[73] of the Keonjhar district has been referred to as the earliest[74] representation of God Śiva in Orissa belonging to the fourth century A.D. But on consideration of the palaeography of the above inscription and iconographical peculiarities of the Naṭarāja image, which can be compared with such Naṭarāja figures found on the Śatrughneśvara group of temple at Bhubaneswar, the image has been ascribed to a later date in the fifth or sixth century A.D.[75] Thus we get early Śaiva sculptures from the fifth century A.D.

The earliest specimen of temple architecture in Orissa is found on the top of the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district.[76] The temple, known as Bhīma temple, was built by placing huge granite blocks one over the other. The temple is crudely designed and a big *āmalaka* adorns the top. The Śiva lingam is found inside but no side deities have been represented in their respective places. It is rather an immature *śikhara* temple and can be ascribed to the Gupta age.[77] Next we have the Śatrughneśvara group of temples at Bhubaneswar belonging to the regime of the Śailodbhavas and ascribed to the *circa* A.D. 575[78]. Recent excavations conducted at Punjiama, about 35 Kms. from Banpur of the Puri district, by the Orissa State

Archaeology Department has brought to light a Śaiva temple complex and about ten sculptures of Śiva in his different manifestations such as Bhairava, Śiva in *Yogāsana*, etc. alongwith the images of Pārvatī, Cāmuṇḍā, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya. Gaṅgā, Sūrya, Mahiṣamardinī Durgā and Viṣṇu. One of the nine short stone inscriptions discovered from the place records the name of the third Śailodbhava king Raṇabhita.[79] The excavation brings to light another centre of the Pāśupata cult in Orissa belonging to the sixth century A.D.

Temples dedicated to Lord Śiva were built continuously from this period onwards. Bhubaneswar from the time of the Śailodbhavas became a known Śaiva centre. Temples belonging to the Śailodbhava and Bhauma periods are found here. Important among these are the temples[80] of Paraśurāmeśvara, Svarṇajāleśvara, Śiśireśvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Tāleśvara. Besides Bhubaneswar, temples belonging to the pre-Somavaṁśī period are located at places like Baragaon and Huma of Ganjam district; Paikapada and Padmapur of Koraput district Simhanatha, Kandarpur (Pl. 3) Lendura-Bhagavanapura and Jajpur of Cuttack district; the Prāci valley; and Ranipur-Jharial of Bolangir district.

During the pre-Somavaṁśī period we find that Śiva was generally worshipped in his different forms and menifestations and alongwith his family members. Thus the images of Bhairava, Naṭarāja, Gajāntaka, Vīrabhadra, Ardhanārīśvara, Umā-Maheśvara, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya are to be noticed in the temples of the pre-Somavaṁśī period.

So by the time the Somavaṁśīs emerged in the political scene of Orissa Śaivism was in ascendency in the religious field. The Somavaṁśī kings gave a further impetus to this cult of Śiva during their reign period. We have seen earlier[81] that all the ruling members of this dynasty had used the epithet *Paramamāheśvara* in their respective charters. The Somavaṁśī kings were strong followers of Śaivism. Their devotion to the cult of Śiva is revealed from the verses used in the texts of their epigraphic records. The Banpur Charter[82] states in its opening verse.

Induḥ jaṭāsu viśado-agni śikha piṣaṅgī lālāṭa cakṣuṣī gale viṣamañjanābhaṁ (/)
satvaṁ rajastama iti triguṇasya tasya sthānakramaṁ gatavate-astu namaḥ Śivāya (//)

"Salutation to lord Śiva whose matted hair is adorned with the crescent moon, whose three eyes look like the flames, whose threat is blue due to (drinking of) poison, and who is the emodiment of the three qualities of *Satya*, *Raja* and *Tama* of the whole universe".

The Brāhmeśvara temple inscription describes the deity Brahmeśvara as one 'Who destroys the sins of these who only bowed down their heads and gives salvation to those who worship by actual touch. . . . .'.[83] Besides the different names of Śiva such as Dhūrjjaṭī, Śūlapāṇī, Brahmeśvara etc. occur in the inscriptions of our period. But we do not come across the donation of villages to any Śaiva deity from the Somavaṁśī inscriptions.

Bhubaneswar became an important Śaiva centre during the Somavaṁśī period. Many Śiva temples were built here by the members of the Somavaṁśa. Notable among them are the temples of Mukteśvara, Indreśvara or Rājārāṇī, Brahmeśvara and the majestic Liṅgarāja. Temples dedicated to Śiva were also built at different places of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. We shall discuss later about these temples and the places containing archaeological remains of the period under discussion.

It seems that the Pāśupata sect continued its existence during our period. In this period we also find Śiva being worshipped both in his malevolent and benevolent aspects. Some of the family members of God Śiva assumed a higher status and separate cults, representing these divinities seem to take concrete shape during this period. We find Gaṇeśa and Pārvatī as independent cult deities, for whom separate shrines were dedicated. The Bhuvaneśvarī and Gaurī temples at Bhubaneswar are such examples. We have no clear evidence to show the prevalence of other forms of Śaivism at Bhubaneswar at this time.

Another feature introduced in the worship of Śiva during our period was the recognition of Hari or Viṣṇu as equal to Śiva and his incorporation in the faith. Thus Hari (Viṣṇu)-Hara (Śiva) came to be worshipped together by the Śaivas. This is evident from the Liṅgrāja temple where the priests even today point to a line on the presiding deity, the Liṅga, marking the division of Hari and Hara. The *Vāhana-stambha* in front of the temple complex contains the figure of Garuḍa in addition to Nandi or the bull, the mount of Śiva. But the most common form of Śaiva worship during this period was worshipping Śiva in his phallic symbol or in the form of a liṅga, usually a short cylindrical pillar with rounded top. In fact the worship of liṅga was common in Orissa from the time Śaivism first made its appearance.

Though the Somavaṁśī kings were Śaivas in their religious pursuation yet they pursued such a religious policy which saw that all other sects of Brāhminism as well as other faiths such as Buddhism and Jainism co-existed and flourished simultaneously. We have already referred to the patronage given by the Somavaṁśī kings to Jainism and Buddhism. This policy of toleration in the religious field was responsible for the representation of Buddhist Avalokiteśvara and Jaina Tīrthaṅkara figures on the body of the Śaiva shrine, the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar.[81] The same policy was responsible for the representation of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu on the walls of yet another Śaiva temple of Bhubaneswar.

The numerical superiority of Śaiva shrines built during this period in fact, over shadows other faiths and their institutions. Thus it becomes unavoidable for us to assume that Śaivism ascended to the highest position in the religious field of Orissa during the Somavaṁśī rule. It dominated the religious life and thought of a majority of people in the Somavaṁśī society with Śaiva shrines, acting as centres of this faith, spreaded over all parts of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. But Bhubaneswar, known as Ekāmra, became the main centre of Śaivism in Orissa. With the completion of the majestic Liṅgarāja temple at this Ekāmra *kṣetra* Bhubaneswar became a famous Śaiva centre of India.

(*d*) *Vaiṣṇavism*:—Vaiṣṇavism, the cult of Viṣṇu, seems to have made its first appearance in Orissa during the fifth century A.D. From the available evidences it is inferred that the cult of Viṣṇu 'advanced towards Orissa from the south and from the west'.[85] The epigraphic records of the Māṭhara dynasty reveal that some of their ruling members were followers of Viṣṇu. Anantaśaktivarman of this dynasty is known to have described himself as a devotee at the feet of Nārāyaṇasvāmī in one of his charters issued in his fourteenth regnal year. The particular epithet in the above inscription reads "*Nārāyaṇasvāmīnaḥ Pādabhaktaḥ*".[86] Other members of this family *viz*. Prabhanjanavarman, Nandaprabhañjanavarman and Caṇḍavarman have been described in their respective grants as *Bhagavat-svāmī-Nārāyaṇa-Pādānudhyāta*,[87] and *Paramabhāgavata*.[88] The Māṭharas ruled, as already stated, during the fourth-fifth century A.D. over Kaliṅga which then included the present Ganjam district of Orissa alongwith the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh.

While Vaiṣṇavism could not make any progress in the south Orissa after the Māṭhara power declined, it could make its appearance in the western parts of Orissa. From the Podagarh stone inscription[89] of Mahārāja Skandavarman of the Nala family we know that he built a shrine for Viṣṇu. Another dynasty of Kosala who showed inclination towards this cult was the Śarabhapurīyas. The copper plate records[90] of this dynasty describe them as Paramabhāgavatas. As seen earlier, the seals accompanying the charters of this dynasty bear the symbol of Gaja-lakṣmī while to coins issued by Prasanamātra[91], a member of this family, contain the Vaiṣṇavite symbols of Garuḍa flanked by a discus on its right and a conch on its left. The Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, who supplanted the Śarabhapurīya rule in Kosala, also patronised the cult of Viṣṇu. Tīvaradeva, an earlier member of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa, and his immediate successor Mahānannarāja designated themselves as Paramavaiṣṇavas.[92] The Sirpur Stone Inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna records the construction of the Lakṣmaṇa temple by the queen mother Vasaṭā. This inscription begins with a salutation to Lord Puruṣottama and continues to invoke him as Nṛsiṁha.[93] From this it is evident that Vaiṣṇavism continued to exist in Kosala even under the reign period of Bālārjuna about the seventh century A.D. notwithstanding the fact that Mahasivagupta Bālārjuna was a *Paramamāheśvara*.[94]

In central Orissa Vaiṣṇavism could not establish itself during this period due to the predominance of the cult of Śiva and Buddhism. The records of the Śailodbhava and Bhauma-kara kings do not refer to any king of the respective dynasties as a follower of Viṣṇu. But two queens of the Bhauma-kara dynasty facilitated the access of this faith in to central Orissa.[95] These two queens—Tribhuvana Mahādevī I[96], hailing from the south, and Tribhuvana Mahādevī-II[97], hailing from the west,—have been described in their respective records as devotees of Viṣṇu. The inscriptions[98] of the Bhañja kings of Khiñjali *maṇḍala* also reveal that some members of this dynasty embraced the cult of Viṣṇu.

Archaeological sources corroborate the facts gleaned from the above epigraphical sources. A Viṣṇu image located near the Kuntī or Gokarṇeśvara temple on the top of Mahendra mountain has been assigned to the Māṭhara period[99]. Another Viṣṇu sculpture, which probably belonged to the age of the

Māṭharas, is located on the eastern bank of the Vindusarovara tank near the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar.[100] Though we do not get any reference to the existence of Vaiṣṇavism during the rule of Śailodbhavas from their inscriptions, a sculpture of Viṣṇu attended by Sri and Pṛvṣṭi found in the recent excavation of Baṅkāḍagarh near Punjiama, believed to have been the capital of the kingdom of Koṅgoda, leads us to believe that though overshadowed by the Pāśupata form of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism existed during the rule of the Śailodbhava dynasty. Traces of this faith during the seventh-eighth century A.D. in the coastal Orissa is evident from a Viṣṇu image found at village Mudgala of the Prācī valley[101]. The image is being worshipped as Mādhava. Besides, another broken Viṣṇu image from Dolasahi of the Balasore district probably belongs to the same period[102]. Another contemporary Viṣṇu image is located in the Kosaleśvara temple at Degaon of the Keonjhar district[103]. A Nṛsiṁha image at Kaupur is attributed to the eighth century A.D.[104]

In western Orissa the cult of Viṣṇu can be traced from the sculptures of Viṣṇu *Anantaśāyī* found on the lintels of the Suvarṇameru and Rāmeśvara Śiva temples at Sonepur. This characteristic mark of Viṣṇu temples having the Viṣṇu-*Anantaśāyī* feature, as revealed from the Lakṣmaṇa temple of Sirpur and the massive western entrance of the Rājivalocana temple at Rajim, has been assigned to the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rule in Kosala[105]. According to H.V. Stietencron[106] the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa, being the descendents of the Panduvaṁśīs, brought the above feature to western Orissa from the central Indian territory. The two colossal *Anantaśāyī* images found in the upper valley of Brāhmaṇī near Talcher[107] and assigned to the Bhauma-kara period, according to the above scholar, point to the fact that Vaiṣṇavism could reach the coastal districts of Orissa from the west. The twin temples of Nilamādhava and Siddheśvara at Gandharadi near Baud built during the Bhauma-kara supremacy and under the Bhañjas corroborate the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism during the eight-ninth century A.D.[108] in the upper valley of the Mahānadī. The concept at Hari-Hara, promoted by the Śaivas of the Pāśupata sect had earlier established itself in the Bhañja kingdom of Khiñjali *maṇḍala* as evident from the above two temples.

Thus we see that Vaiṣṇavism had limited success in the religious field of Orissa during the pre-Somavaṁśī period. Besides, it tried to reach the coastal Orissa from the south and the west. That Vaiṣṇavism could establish itself in the coastal districts, with Puri as its main centre, during the Somavaṁśī period is evident from our discussion below.

The Sonepur plates[109] of the Somavaṁśī king Janamejaya I records the grant of the village Gottaikelā to a merchants' association immigrated from Khadirapadra for the maintenance of the temples of Keśava and Āditya at Suvarṇapura. Possibly the door lintels of the later Śiva temple containing the Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī sculptures stated above belonged to the Keśava temple of the Sonepur Plates. The brick temple known as Indralāth at Ranipur-Jharial of the Bolangir district, which can be assigned to the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa, from its side deities show that it was dedicated to Viṣṇu. From the *Vāmana Purāṇa* as quoted in the *Tīrtha Kāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru*[110] we come to know about a temple dedicated to Gopāla at the Soma-*tīrtha*, or the present Ranipur-Jharial.[111]

The *Mādalā Pāñji*,[112] as already discussed above, credits Yayāti-I with the building of an earlier shrine for Puruṣottama at Puri. This traditional account is corroborated by the remnants of early Somavaṁśī art in Puri.[113] Besides, the indirect references we get from two earliest Gaṅga inscriptions in[114] Puri, about the decay of the temple of Puruṣottama before Coḍagaṅgadeva constructed the present temple of Jagannātha, would support the above tradition about Yayāti-I. We have stated earlier that the recently discovered Degaon Copper Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mugdhagondaladeva corroborate the above tradition of the *Mādalā Pāñji*. As such it can be said that Vaiṣṇavism could make some progress during the rule of the earlier Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa.

A number of Viṣṇu images, many of them locally known as Mādhava, found at different places of the Prācī valley[115] can be assigned, on iconographic and stylistic consideration, to the Somavaṁśī period. The Mādhava worship or cult became popular at a later period under the patronage of the Gaṅgas. From the various Viṣṇu sculptures[116] of our period we know that Viṣṇu was worshipped, like Śiva, in his different forms and menifestations. The most common among the Vaiṣṇava sculptures of this period is Viṣṇu represented with four arms in *sthāṇaka* pose (Pl. 30 & 31). Śrī and Pṛṣṭi or Bhūdevī are found on both sides of Viṣṇu. The four hands show the attributes of discus, conch, mace and lotus, which inter change their positions in the hands as per different forms of Viṣṇu.

We find the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu represented on the outer walls of a Śiva temple—Maṇibhadreśvara—located close to the Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. Themes of the Viṣṇu mythology and the great epics are found to be represented on the early Śiva temples at Bhubaneswar. This was considered to be the influence of the Pāśupata sect who tried to show the all inclusiveness of Śiva by introducing the Hari-Hara concept.[117] As such these sculptures having Viṣṇu themes but found on Śiva temples were considered not to be the works of the Vaiṣṇavas. But the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu found on the Maṇibhadreśvara temple would point to the prevalence of the incarnation theory in the Vaiṣṇava theology of Orissa during the Somavaṁśī rule, to which the above temple can be assigned.[118] The above sculptures of Viṣṇu can be taken as the earliest among the *Daśāvatāra* sculptures found in Orissa.

Another important contribution of Vaiṣṇavism during this period was the emergence of Puri as a famous Vaiṣṇava centre and the beginning of the great synthesis among the religious forces of Orissa called the Jagannātha cult. Though the Somavaṁśī inscriptions are themselves silent about the cult of Viṣṇu or the worship of Mādhava or Jagannātha or even the construction of any Viṣṇu temple during their rule, yet outside sources explicitly state that a Viṣṇu temple existed at Puri by this time which had attained widespread fame.

In the undated "Kalidindi Grant" of the Eastern Cālukya king Rājarāja-I, the introductory verse describes Brahmā as born from the lotus which grows from the great lord Nārāyaṇa-Puruṣottama at Śrīdhāma[119]. The inscription is assigned to the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

The undated Pujaripalli Inscription[120] of Gopāladeva records the name Puruṣottama alongwith other holy places. The Boramdee temple inscription[121], recorded in the Kalacuri era 840 corresponding to A.D. 1088 was issued by a Gopāladeva. Considering the two Gopāladevas as identical, the Pujaripali Inscription could be dated in the last part of the eleventh century A.D.

From the Maihar Stone Inscription[122] it is also known that Puruṣottama was located on the sea shore among the people of Oḍra. This inscription has been assigned to the middle of the tenth century A.D.

From literary sources we also get reference to the Puruṣottama *kṣetra*. The *Prabodhacandrodaya*, written between A.D. 1073 and A.D. 1076, refers to the temple of Puruṣottama on the sea shore in Utkala.[123] In Śatānanda's *Bhāśyatī* it is stated that the author was a resident of Puri and finished the work in *Kaliyuga* year 4200 or A.D. 1100 at this sacred place of Puruṣottama[124]. Thus it seems that Puruṣottama *kṣetra* or Puri had become a known Vaiṣṇava centre atleast from the beginning of the tenth century A.D. It is also evident that Viṣṇu in the form of Puruṣottama was the presiding deity of Puruṣottama *kṣetra* or Puri.

The names of Puruṣottama and Balabhadra occur in the inscriptions of the pre-Somavaṁśī period[125]. This fact alongwith the above evidences from the epigraphic sources has led some scholars to believe that "Vaiṣṇavism, which developed through the mingling of the Buddhist Tāntric cult, and the Śrī sect (evident from the inscription of Śatrubhañja dated in 198 Bhauma era), was associated with the symbolised images of Puruṣottama, Balabhadra and Subhadrā"[126]. According to some other scholars[127] Nṛsiṁha was perhaps worshipped as Puruṣottama during the Somavaṁśī period. These scholars further held the view that "the special feature of the Nṛsiṁha worship as introduced from the west, was that it could be absorbed by, or combined with, tribal religion in western Orissa and thus was partly instrumental in Hinduization of one of the tribal gods"[128]. According to these scholars the combination of Vaiṣṇava traditions alongwith the deliberate effort of the Gaṅga kings during the thirteenth-fourteenth century A.D. to combine the conflicting religious forces inside their kingdom led to the great synthesis called Jagannātha cult. Thus it is true that the genesis of the Jagannātha cult lies in the worship of Puruṣottama-Nṛsiṁha of the Somavaṁśī period.

Vaiṣṇavism on the whole could establish itself in Orissa during our period and it ascended to a higher position in the religious field of Orissa during the subsequent periods.

(*e*) *Śaktism*:—It is difficult to trace the first appearance of the Śakti cult in ancient Orissa. Nothing definite is known about the early form of worship of the female principle in Orissa. But this cult in the form of worshipping Mahisamardinī was prevalent since early times. The earliest representation of this deity is found at Jajpur of the Cuttack district. The deity, known as Virajā, is a two-armed Mahiṣamardinī-Durgā image and the demon is represented in its animal form of a buffalo. While R.P. Chanda[129] places this image to the pre-Gupta period, K.C. Panigrahi[130] assigns the image to the Gupta period.

Since this time Śakti is worshipped in Orissa in the forms of Mahiṣamardinī

Durgā, Pārvatī, Caṇḍī, Sapta-mātṛkās, Cāmuṇḍā, Vārāhī, Kālī, Maṅgalā, Carcikā and Bhagavatī. Besides, we come across the village goddesses with different names at different places. In addition we have the Iṣṭadevis or presiding deities of the female principle in every house hold. The wide distribution of the images of Śakti cult would point to the wide popularity of this cult in Orissa. But the Śakti worship in the form of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā seems to have been more popular.

Besides Jajpur, the two armed Durgā image is to be found at Someśvara near Kakatapur of the Prācī valley.[131] In the next phase we get four armed variety of Mahiṣamardinī images from the Prācī valley. These images are found at places like Motia, in the Mādhava temple at Niali, and at Banki.[132] Only two instances of six handed Mahiṣamardinī have come to our notice at Astarang and in the Dvāravasinī temple on the bank of Vindusarovara at Bhubaneswar.

Śaktism became popular during the rule of the Bhauma-karas and it influenced other faiths like Buddhism and Jainism. During the Bhauma-kara period, as seen already, the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism with the influence of Tāntric theology and rites gave birth to the cult of Vajrayāna. From this period onwards we find Tārā, "the primordial deity of Buddhist pantheon absorbed within herself a number of divinities representing different aspects of female principle".[133] Accordingly we get Khadiravaṇī Tārā at Banpur, Prajñapāramitā at Banesvaranasi, Tārā and Hāriti at Ratnagiri, Tārā at Khiching Museum and at other places of Orissa. They represent the influence of Tāntric Śaktism in Mahāyāna.

The eight handed Mahiṣamardinī Durgā was popular during this period. In these sculptures the demon is generally depicted with a human body and a buffalo head. This variety of Durgā image is found in the Vaital temple at Bhubaneswar, at Kuṇḍeśvara of the Cuttack district, the Prācī valley and a number of other places. It was also during this period that Tāntricism crept into the fold of Śaivism. The Vaital temple, the first *Śākta* shrine at Bhubaneswar, besides its presiding deity Cāmuṇḍā, has such Śaiva images as Hara-Pārvatī, Ardhanārīśvara, Lakulīśa, Vīrabhadra, Bhairava etc.[134]

Another form of Śakti worship, the Sapta-mātṛkās, (seven divine mothers representing the Śaktis of important deities) became popular during the pre-Somavaṁśī period. The earliest group of Sapta-mātṛkā is datable to the seventh century A.D. and found on the northern wall of the porch of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple.[135] They are Cāmuṇḍā, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Māheśvarī and Brāhmī flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa. In chronological order the next group is found inside the Vaital temple where Cāmuṇḍā acts as the presiding deity. This group is assigned to the Bhauma-kara period. Two mutilated *mātṛkā* sculptures found near the Malikeśvara temple at Padmapur of the Koraput district belong to the same period. It seems that the cult of Sapta-mātṛkā was, unlike the Durgā worship, confined to a few centres only during the pre-Somavaṁśī period.

Another deity of the Śakti cult, Cāmuṇḍā, also became popular during the above period. Cāmuṇḍā, as an independent deity outside the Sapta-mātṛka group, is found at different places. Like the Mahiṣamardinī Durgā images the Cāmuṇḍā images vary in their forms with the number of hands as their main feature. The four-handed images of Cāmuṇḍā are found in the Prāci valley at Pitapara, Motia and Lataharana.[136] The recent excavation at Punjiama, already referred to at above, has brought to light a seated Cāmuṇḍā image with four arms. The six-handed variety of this deity has been also located in the Prāci valley.[137] The variety of Cāmuṇḍā, represented with eight arms, is located at Someśvara and on the northern wall of the Maṅgalā temple at Kakatapur.[138] Besides, Cāmuṇḍā in her terrific form is worshipped as Mohini at Bhubaneswar, as Jāgulei at Chaurasi of the Prāci valley, and as Carcikā at Banki of Cuttack district.

Another independent mother goddess of the pre-Somavaṁśī period in Vārāhī found in the Vārāhī temple at Chaurasi. The temple and the deity have been assigned to the Bhauma epoch in Orissa.

From the inscriptions[139] of the pre-Somavaṁśī period we come to know of a goddess, Stambheśvarī. She was the tutelory deity of the Śulkī rulers, who were a feudatory power under the Bhauma-karas. From the name Stambheśvarī and the surviving representations of this deity, where she is worshipped in the form of a pillar, found at Sonepur, at Aska of Ganjam district, and at Bhubaneswar, scholars[140] attribute a tribal origin to this deity.

In addition to the above deities of the *Śākta* pantheon, which were popular during the pre-Somavaṁśī period, scholars[141] suggest to the prevalence of the cult of Yoginī during the Bhauma-kara rule. But we have reasons to believe, which we shall discuss later, that the cult of Yoginī could establish itself during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. The assortment of the above Tāntric deities found widely spread over different parts of Orissa would suggest to the strong influence of Śaktism exerted on the religious life of the people of Orissa before the Somavaṁśī rule.

With the advent of the Somavaṁśīs there occurred no great change in the position of Śaktism. In fact during the period of our discussion Śaktism had a greater influence over the Śaivas, the Buddhists and the Jainas. The idea of the female counterparts or Śaktis of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras begin to appear in the form of Śāśanadevīs from this time. All the *Śākta* deities of the earlier period seem to have prospered well during this period as evident from their archaeological finds at different places.

Though Śaivas by faith the Somavaṁśī kings probably had inclination towards the Śakti cult. This is evident from a passage occurring in the Maranjamura Charter[142] of Yayāti II issued from Suvarṇapura in his third regnal year. The passage reads as follows:

> "*Sakalalokābhilasita vara-pradānā-nugraha-kāmyayā Bhagavatyā Śrī Pañcāmbari—Bhadrāmbikāyādhiṣṭhitā pattana Suvarṇapurā—vāsita*" (Lines 9-11).

"Who dwells at *pattana* Suvarṇapura (where exists the Goddess) Bhagavatī Pañcāmbari Bhadrāmbikā—who at the prayer of all people for their desires for boons grants them in her mercy".[143] From the above it seems that the goddess Bhagavatī Pañcāmbari Bhadrāmbikā was the presiding deity of Suvarṇapura or modern Sonepur. The Brahmeśvara temple inscription records the second name of

Yayāti II as Caṇḍihara. From this name it has been suggested that Yayāti II was a follower of both Śaktism and Śaivism.[144] But in the absence of other corroborating evidences it cannot be accepted as a fact. According to the *Bhaktibhāgavata*, Bhavadeva, the preceptor of king Udyotakeśarī, was a follower of Tāntric cult.[145] Besides, the large number of sculptures of *Śākta* pantheon found at different places and assignable to our period speak about the flourishing state of this cult.

Among the *Śākta* sculptures of our period the Mahiṣamardinī Durgā images seem to have a numerical superiority over other sculptures. This would lead us to believe that this form of Śakti worship was more popular under the Somavaṁśīs. In these Mahiṣamardinī sculptures, the deity is generally represented with ten arms (Pl. 27) while the demon Mahiṣāsura is depicted as emerging out of the decapicated trunk of a buffalo. Such type of Durgā images are found either as presiding deity or as side deity of a temple. We come across such Durgā images at Pitapara, Lataharana, Nilharana, Ambapara, Someśvara of the Prāci valley;[146]. Bhaṭṭārikā near Baramba; Kanaka-Durgā near Remuna; Bhubaneswer,[147] Golābai and Balpur of the Dayā river valley in the district of Puri.

The next important *Śākta* sculptures of the period are the Saptamātṛka figures. We find groups of these *mātṛka* sculptures in the ceiling of the porch of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar at Belkhandi[148] in the district of Kalahandi, at Jajpur, near the edge of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri, at Salanapur[149] under Jagatsinghpur P.S of Cuttack district and on the temple of Brahmeśvara[150] at Beraboi in the Delang P.S. of Puri district. The *mātṛkā* figures of the Somavaṁśī period are represented alongwith Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra. They are shown in *lalitāsana* with a baby on their left-laps. But Cāmuṇḍā does not hold a baby. The association of babies with the *mātṛkā* figures from this time onwards marks a stage of development in the iconography of these sculptures. It is believed that the worship of Sapta-mātṛkās was popular during our period as revealed from their findings.

From the *Mādalā Pāñji*[150a] it is known that the Keśārī king Bhīma Keśarī had installed Sapta-mātṛka images by the side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank at Puri. This Bhīma Keśarī, as seen earlier,[151] was identified with the Somavaṁśī king Bhīmaratha.

The cult of Vārāhī seems to have died down during our period since we do not find any sculpture of this deity belonging to the Somavaṁśī period. Similarly the worship of Cāmuṇḍā also seems to have faded gradually during our period. Not many Cāmuṇḍā sculptures, assignable to the Somavaṁśīs rule, have come to our notice. These factors would indicate that the independent worship of the mātṛkās could not hold ground under the Somavaṁśī rule but the worship of the whole group dominated the field.

Another Tāntric deity of Śaktism is Yoginī, Yoginīs were worshipped generally as a group of sixty-four alongwith Bhairava and Kātyāyanīs. Two hypetheral structures containing the sculptures of sixty-four Yoginīs and their associates have been noticed in Orissa, which on the basis of several considerations, can be assigned to our period.[152]

These Yoginī temples are located at Ranipur-Jharial of Bolangir district and at Hirapur of the Bhārgavī valley near Bhubaneswar. In their sculptural representations the Yoginī sculptures of these two places differ with each other. As stated earlier, scholars tend to date the Hirapur Yoginī temple in the Bhauma epoch while they assign the temple at Ranipur-Jharial to a later period.

"The Yoginīs or female anchorites who were originally conceived as emanations of Gaurī centred round the esoteric *Kaulakāpālīka* worship. The basic principle behind this cult is that the Kapālīkās used to live in spiritual intimacy with the Yoginī and it is the Yoginī who was instrument of the transformation of her associate anchorites into Śiva in and through the insights and pleasures of sex".[153] This esoteric cult of Yoginī was introduced in the coastal Orissa from the central India through western Orissa during the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. It is not surprising that with the predominance of Buddhist and Brāhmanical Tāntric practices this esoteric cult appealed, to the Śāktas, who readily accepted and included this cult into their fold in Orissa.

From the above description it is evident that Śāktism played a predominant role, next only to Śaivism, in the religious sense of Orissa under the rule of the Somavaṁśī.

(*f*) *Minor cults*:—Apart from the above important faiths we come to know about other minor cults of the period under review.

Important among these minor cults are the cult of Gaṇeśa. Even in the pre-Somavaṁśī period we find Gaṇeśa, generally, being worshipped as the side deity of a Śiva temple, always represented in the southern niche. Gaṇeśa also finds representation alongwith the *mātṛkā* figures. Besides, stray images of the elephant faced god found at various places would suggest to the prevalence of this cult before and during the Somavaṁśī period.

Separate shrines were erected for Gaṇeśa during this period. The Gaṇeśa temple situated at the foot of the Dhauli hill was a monument of the Somavaṁśī period. "Inspite of its reconstruction and modification, it clearly betrays the architectural and sculptural features of the Liṅgarāja".[154]

During our period we come across Gaṇeśa images either in *sthāṇaka* (standing) or *līlā* (dancing) pose. The deity in the first case is represented with four arms while in the latter case with eight arms (Pl. 20). The mouse, the mount of the God is invariably represented. Notable sculptures of this deity belonging to the Somavaṁśī period are located at Bhubaneswar in the southern nich of the Liṅgarāja, in Siddha Gaṇeśa temple by the side of the river Dayā at the foot hills of Dhauli, in the premises of the Bhava Kuṇḍaleśvara temple of village Tankapani in the Bhārgavī valley, Agrahat near Chaudwar, Teraboi in the Dayā valley, in Prāci valley at Jajpur and a number of other places. This was probably the formative period for the cult of Gaṇeśa which later grew into an important cult with the establishment of the Mahā-Vināyaka *kṣetra* at Kapilasa of the Cuttack district.

The worship of the Sun God is one of the earliest practices of the Hindu faith. We find sculptural representation of the Sun god during the pre-Somavaṁśī period. In these earlier Sūrya images the deity is shown above the thigh portion holding two lotus flowers in both the hands. The image stands erect and below is depicted a chariot driven by seven horses with Aruṇa, the charioteer, at the centre.

The fragmentary Sūrya sculpture from Gandibedha of Balasore district, now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, contains an inscription of the time of Karṇṇadeva[155] (Pl. 40). Accordingly the image can be placed in the Somavaṁśī epoch. Earlier we have referred to the aforesaid Sonepur Plates of Mahābbavagupta I, which record the donation of a village to a guild of merchants for the maintenance of the deities, Keśava and Āditya. These evidences would show that the worship of the Sun god was prevalent during our period. The existence of the lower portion of a brick temple at the south-west corner of the present Sun temple of Konarka, inside its boundary wall, and its architectural peculiarities would lead us to believe that this brick temple was built during the tenth-eleventh century A.D.'' Thus it seems that the Solar cult was also popular in Orissa during our period. Besides, by this time the Arka *kṣetra* at Konarka had probably gained popularity as a centre of Sun worship.

Another minor cult which was prevalent during our period was the Nāga cult. Orissa is full of Nāga antiquities dating back to the early Christian centuries.[156] Nāga worship seems to have been popular during the seventh-eighth century A.D.''[157] "The Nāga worship in association with the divinities of Brāhminical fold of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism has became almost an unbroken religious phenomena among the people of Orissa from the early period to the present day".[158] We come across the representation of snakes in the sculptures of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārsavnātha and the Buddhist sculpture of Amoghasiddhi. Nāga sculptures representing a human figure with an over-head canopy of seven snake-hood and carrying a foliated vessel in its hands belong to the Bhauma epoch and earlier. Nāga sculptures of the pre-Somavaṁśī period are seen at Bhubaneswar, Ratnagiri[159], Maragoda and Dayā valleys.[160]

That this cult continued to exist during our period is evident from the Nāga and Nāgi colums, introdued for the first time in the lower portion of the temples of our period as decorative motifs. Besides, the sculptures of Āstika-Jaratkāru and Manaṣā found at different places, on stylistic grounds can be assigned to the Somavaṁśī period. An image of Āstika-Jaratkāru, where a child is shown lying on the lap of a lady figure, found affixed on the front *Gaṇḍi* portion of the Khileśvara temple at village Khellore of the Dayā valley, would lead us to believe that the worship of Āstika-Jaratkāru sculptures became popular towards the end of the Somavaṁśī rule. Similar sculptures of Āstika-Jaratkāru found at many other places of the Dayā valley would point to the popularity of the Nāga cult in this valley during the period under discussion.

To sum up it would seem that all the faiths and cults flourished well under the Somavaṁśī kings. The secular approach in the religious out look of the members of the Somavaṁśa facilitated the growth of all religions in their kingdom. All the Somavaṁśī kings personally professed Śaivism but at the same time some of them had contributed to the growth of other faiths. The idea of the land of *Pañca-kṣetras* or five sacred centres, as Orissa is known today, has probably taken into shape during our period with the four places *viz.* Jajpur, Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka becoming the known centres of Śakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya respectively.

2. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The greatest contribution of the Somavaṁśīs to Orissan culture was in the field of art and architecture. The Somavaṁśīs had left behind them a number of monuments, numerous sculptures and a proud memory to be cherished by the posterity to come. The lofty temples of the Hindus, the Buddhist monasteries and the specimens of plastic art, representing all the sects and the period, that dot the entire length and breadth of present Orissa bear silent testimony to the building activities undertaken during the rule of this great dynasty. Bhubaneswer became the main centre of the building activities during our period. Some of the best specimens of Orissan architecture belonging to the Somavaṁśī period such as the temples of Mukteśvara, Rājārāṇī, Brahmeśvara and Liṅgarāja, are located in this temple town of Bhubaneswar.

In fact, "the monuments in and around Bhubaneswar cover practically the whole-dated history of Orissa from the earliest times to the last Hindu dynasty".[161] These monuments provide an excellent opportunity to scholars for making a study of the evolution of art and architecture of Orissa in general and of the place in particular. Important works[162] on the temple architecture of Orissa have thrown considerable light on their characteristics and evolution. The scholarly work of K.C. Panigrahi[163] further helps us in determining the age of Hindu temples and sculptures of Orissa.

In the evolution of temple architecture, the *śikhara* or curvilinear spire type ultimately became the dominant form in Orissa. Some of the earliest temples, now extent at Bhubaneswar and other places, represent the mature products of the *śikhara* type. "The Orissan temple architecture by reason of its own distinct individualities and a long history of evolution, soon came to acquire for itself a distinct nomenclature, *viz.*, the Kaliṅga".[164] An inscription of the pre-Muslim period in the temple of Amṛteśvara at Holal in the Bellary district of Karnataka records the four classes of temples—Nāgara, Kaliṅga, Drāviḍa and Veṣara.[165] "The Kaliṅga type has been taken to be a sub-class of the Nāgara style rather than a class by itself, inasmuch as both Kaliṅga and Nāgara temples possess curvilinear spires and square plans with projected angles. In Orissa the cube of the sanctum, originally divided into three vertical sections as in the temples of Nāgara style, gradually became divided into five and this together with the provision of the *aṅga-śikharas* on the *anurāha pāgas*, constitute the distinct characteristics of its temple type".[166]

Following the findings contained in the works of the earlier scholars the main architectural peculiarities of the temples, which were in a developed stage during the Somavaṁśī period, can be stated as follows :

(a) The sanctum proper consisting a *vimāna* (cella) and a *śikhara* (the curvilinear tower) came to be known as a *rekhā deula* (temple). The *jagamohana* (porch or audience hall) was called *piḍha* or *Bhadra* (a stepped pyramid, turncated above and crowned by a ribbed stone)[167] *deula*.

(b) The *gaṇḍi* (cube of the sanctum) of the *rekhā* rises straight upto a short height and then begins to curve inwards at an increasing rate.[168]

(c) The *gaṇḍi* is generally divided into five vertical sections called pagas (pilasters). Accordingly the temple type has come to be regarded as *pañca-ratha*.

(d) The basement of both the *rekhā* and *piḍha* temples show the usual structural divisions such as *pāda*, *kumbha*, *pāta*, *kaṇi* and *vasanta* which are to be noticed in the later temples of the Somavaṁśī period. The five conventional divisions namely the *jaṅghā*, *vāraṇḍi*, *vandhana*, upper *vāraṇḍi* and upper and *jaṅghā* also occur in the cubical portion.[169]

(e) Miniature replicas of *piḍha*, *khākhara* (*veṣara*) and *śikhara* temples, some half-finished and others fully carved, find place for the first time on the cubical and curvilinear portions.

(f) The caitya arches continued to be the decorative motif in a much stylised form.

(g) The bāḍas (walls) of a *piḍha* temple divide themselves into five pilasters each and in addition to a door, two balustrated windows are provided.

(h) The *mastaka* (crowning elements) of both the *rekhā* and *piḍha* became full fledged with *āmalaka* (fluted finial), *kalasa* (pitcher), *āyudha* (weapon) and *patākā* (flag).

(i) The eight Dikpālas or guardian deities of the eight directions, *viz*. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairta, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Iśāna (Śiva) are found to be depicted at their proper places on the Pagas for the first time during this period.[170]

(j) Planet slabs, usually occurring as lintels to the doorways, from this period begin to contain the figures of the nine planets (Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu) instead of the eight planets (excluding Ketu) of the earlier period.

(k) The figure of goddess Gajalakṣmī at the top centre of the door-jambs is depicted invariably in *lalitāsana* posture as evident from the temples of this period (Pl. 16).

With these basic characteristic features of a Somavaṁśī temple as guide lines, we can make a survey of the places where monuments of the Somavaṁśī period are located.

Bhubaneswar :— As stated earlier, this temple town of Orissa contains some of the first specimens of the Somavaṁśī art and architecture. We give below, in chronological order, a brief description of those temples which belonged to the Somavaṁśī period.

Mukteśvara :— This is one of the most beautiful temples of Bhubaneswar. It has been described as a dream realised in sand stone.[171] Elegantly decorated from top to bottom, it stands within a gracefully laid out low compound wall with a beautiful *toraṇa* in front.[172] In this temple, we find the beginning of a *piḍha* temple and well-shaped pāgas with recesses in between them (Pl. 4). The images are carved in *alto-relievo* and *gaja-siṁha* and Nāga columns are placed in between the recesses. The *śikhara* is of the *pañca-ratha* type and the edges are found to be smooth and rounded.

Regarding the cult images found on the temple, these following peculiarities are to be noticed. Gaṇeśa has been depicted with his mount, the mouse, for the first time. Similarly a cock is associated with Kārtikeya, babies carried in the arms of Sapta-mātṛkās and Ketu included among the planets. But the door-jamb of the temple does not yet depict Gajalakṣmī *lalitāsana*. The architectural and sculptural features of this temple put it in the transition phase between the earlier groups of temples represented by Paraśurāmeśvara, Vaitāl, Śiśireśvara etc., and the later group of Brahmeśvara, Liṅgarāja etc.

K.C. Panigrahi assigns the date of Mukteśvara to the reign period of Yayāti I on the basis of its architectural and sculptural peculiarities as well as a tradition current at Bhubaneswar.[173] This view is shared by other scholars.[174] Apart from the cult images and decorative motifs, many panels depicting social scenes (Pl. 62) are noticed in this temple. Besides, the decoration of the *toraṇa* with exquisite reclining female figures and bands of delicate scroll-work of masterly execution is a crowning beauty of the monument.[175]

Rājārāṇī temple:—It has an underdeveloped *piḍha* temple as its porch. The *śikhara* is of *pañca-ratha* type. The temple stands on a slightly raised plateform. The temple has clusters of miniature turrets round the body of the main tower (Pl. 7). The different divisions of the *śikhara* are more prominent here. In the decorative scheme of the pilaster basements, we find the Dikpālas in the *jaṅghā* portion (Pl. 41) while other secular sculptures are to be found in the upper *jaṅghā* portion (Pl. 17). The body of the main tower takes a more rounded shape with deep recesses in between the pagas which contain decorative motifs of *alasa-kanyā*, *mithuna* figures and *gaja-siṁha* sculptures. From certain architectural and sculptural affinities with both the Mukteśvara and the Brahmeśvara temples, this superb temple of Rājārāṇī has been assigned to a period intermediate between the above two temples.[176] From the local texts such as the *Ekāmra Purāṇa*. the *Svarṇādrī-Mahodaya*, the *Ekāmra-Cāndrika* and the *Kapila Saṁhitā*, we come to know about the original name of the Rājārānī temple as Indreśvara.[177] This temple of Indreśvara is said to have been built by Indraratha,[178] who ruled from *circa* A.D. 1000 to 1020.

A close contemporary of the Rājārāṇī temple at Bhubaneswar is the *Dākra* Bhīmeśvara which possesses same architectural peculiarities as that of the Rājārāṇī. This temple is located in the close neighbourhood of the eastern gate of the Liṅgarāja compound.[179]

Liṅgarāja temple:—The temple of Liṅgarāja (Pl. 12), rising to a height of about 180 feet and dominating the entire landscape within an area of about ten miles, represents the quintessence of the Kaliṅga type of architecture and the culminating result of the architectural activities at Bhubaneswar".[180] The temple stands majestically amidst a cluster of smaller temples located within the specious enclosure of a laterite wall measuring 520 feet lengthwise and 465 feet breadthwise with provisions for gates in the east, north and south. Panigrahi seems to be right when he says that, "so much has been said about its architectural features that very little remains to be said".[181]

The Liṅgarāja temple is of the *pañca-ratha* design and a three chambered component is found in its front. These are the *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭmandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of these three structures, the last two were of later additions. According to some scholars,[182] the *Jagamohana* was built in a later period than the main temple. This inference is drawn from certain evidences found at the point of juncture of the *Jagamohana* with the *Vimāna*. But since both the structures are built of the same type of sand stone and have same artistic tradition in the representation of sculptures, it can be safely said that both the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* formed parts of the original temple complex.[183]

From architectural peculiarities the temple can be compared with the Brahmeśvara temple, a close contemporary structure at Bhubaneswar. In the Liṅgarāja temple we find full fledged *rekhā* as well as *piḍha* structures. The *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja had balustrated windows in the north and the south. At present the north window has been blocked up while the south window has been converted into a door way. In the treatment and attributes of the cult images, there is a close similarity with such images of the Brahmeśvara temple. The Dikpālas are depicted only on the pāgas of the main tower and they are represented in *lalitāsana* over their respective mounts (Pl. 42). But these Dikpāla images are not depicted on the *Jagamohana*. The images of Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya (Pl. 24) and Pārvatī (Pl. 23) appear as *pārśva-devatās* or side-deities of the southern, western and northern niches respectively. All the three images are made out of single blocks of chlorite stone and represent the best form of plastic art of the period. Three separate smaller shrines have been provided in front of these three side deities at a later period as evident from their construction. Except the Gaṇeśa sculpture, the other two sculptures are badly mutilated. Other cult images such as Mahiṣamardinī Durgā, Ardhanārīśvara, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya, etc., occur on different parts of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*. Erotic sculptures as well as other decorative motifs are also placed in the recesses formed between the pāgas. Panels of war scenes, elephant processions, animal patterns, etc., are found on the pidhas or steps on the roof of the *Jagamohana*. Śiva's marriage scene is very beautifully depicted above the southern door of the *Jagamohana*. Another scene, showing Yaśodā churning curd and the child Śrī Kṛṣṇa disturbing her while Nanda sitting near by is found on the southern facade of the main tower.[184] Besides, a number of secular sculptures, depicting the royality, religious teachers (Pl. 60) and other social scenes such as dancing, musicians, etc., find place on this huge and beautiful temple.

According to R.D. Banerji, the sanctuary of the Liṅgarāja is a hollow pyramid composed of several superimposed chambers, the access to which is obtained by a stair-case built through the thickness of the wall.[185] This new technique was perhaps necessitated on account of the extreme height of the tower which could not be sustained by a single roof as in case of smaller temples.[186] The sudden shift over to the idea of constructing temples of larger dimensions during this period is significant and particularly so in the wake of Rājendra Coḷa's invasion from the South, where by this time higher religious edifice in the shape of Gopurams were being constructed.

As stated earlier, the *Mādalā Pāñji* ascribes the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple to Yayāti Keśarī and his descendents. Accordingly the temple has been assigned of the rule of Yayāti II, who, according to the Brahmeśvara temple inscription, became the king after a period of chaos and anarchy in the kingdom as an aftermath of the invasion of Rājendra Coḷa's army. Thus the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple, a close contemporary of the Brahmeśvara temple from architectural and sculptural points of view, probably started by Yayāti II and completed by his son Udyotakeśarī about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.[187]

Brahmeśvara temple:—From the inscription, originally attached in the temple but now lost, of Kolāvatī, mother of Udyotakeśarī, we know that she caused to be built a mangificant shrine for the deity Brahmeśvara alongwith four smaller shrines at a place called *Siddha Tīrtha* in Ekamra during the eighteenth regnal year of king Udyotakeśarī. According to the chronology followed by us this year corresponds with *circa* A.D. 1058. The completion of the Liṅgarāja temple by Udyotakeśarī must have also taken place around the same period, since, as already stated more than once, both the Liṅgarāja and Brahmeśvara are close contemporaries in so far as their architectural and sculptural characteristics are concerned.

The Brahmeśvara temple consists of two components, *viz.* the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*. Four smaller shrines are located at the four corners of this temple inside a compact compound (Pl. 11). Both the *Vimāna* and *Jagamohana* contain all the features of full fledged *rekhā* and *piḍha* temples, respectively as per the cannons of Orissan architecture. The temple is of *pañca-ratha* type with its respective divisions fully developed and the recesses in between them filled up by decorative sculptures. The Dikpālas, on their mounts and proper places, are depicted on the *anurāha-pāgas* or the corner pilasters at *jaṅghā* level. Other sculptures of cult deities adorn the upper *jaṅghā* portion of the *bāḍa* of the main tower (Pl. 18). The arrangement of Dikpāla images is identical on the *bāḍa* of the *Jagamohana*. Both the *Jagamohana* and *Vimāna* rise abruptly from the ground. The crowning elements, referred to already, of both the *rekhā* and *piḍha* are full fledged and consist of *āmalaka, kalasa, āyudha* and *patākā*. The *beki* (found below the *āmalaka*) is also present in both the cases. In the *Jagamohana* the pidhas are well developed on the roof and the lower most *piḍha* contains panels of sculptures. The *rekhā* has miniature *śikhara, khākharā* and *piḍha* temples on the cubical as well as upper portion. The balustrated windows of the *Jagamohana* contain sculptures on their outer portion.

Another important feature in this temple is that the ceiling of the porch contains tiers of sculptural panels showing warriors, elephant procession etc. In this connection it has a close similarity with the Mukteśvara temple, whose porch also contains sculptural representation on its ceiling, the most important among them, being the images of Sapta-māṭṛkā alongwith Vīrabhadra depicted on the eight petals of a full blown lotus flower carved as hanging from the centre of the ceiling.

Both the *Jagamohana* and the *Vimāna* of the Brahmeśvara temple contain beautiful door-jambs (Pl. 16) where the Śaivite dvārapālas (gate keepers) are found below, inside niches and with tridents in their hands. Scroll-work patterns in three rows rise from the top of the niches containing the *dvārapāla* figures and Gajalakṣmī in *lalitāsana* is found depicted at the top centre of the door jamb. The lintel above the door jamb contains the figures of nine planets. In Brahmeśvara, we also find the episode of Yaśodā, Nanda and Śrī Kṛṣṇa depicted in sculpture as in Liṅgarāja temple. Many other secular sculptures are to be noticed here. Important among them is the figure of a dancing lady, who lifts a miniature *piḍha* temple in her left hand, attended by musicians. This sculpture is found on the northern facade of the *Jagamohana* above the balustrated window. This has been taken to be the figure of Kolāvatī, the builder of the temple.[188]

It seems that the Bhauma technique of making side deities in sections was not followed in the Somavaṁśī period. During this period side deities were carved out of single blocks of stone and put in the niches made in the *rāha* pāgas or central pilasters as we find in the Paraśurāmeśvara and other earlier temples. This accounts for the missing of side deities from most of the Somavaṁśī shrines.

Kedāreśvara:—This temple is of the same type as that of Brahmeśvara. It is a *Pañca-ratha* temple with the pilasters fully developed and *gaja-siṁha* figures are found in the recesses between pilasters. The side deities of *Geṇeśa* (Pl. 22). Kārtikeya and Durgā are found in their respective niches. The *Jagamohana* is a *piḍha* temple. Both the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* rise abruptly from the ground. The temple is bereft of many decorations except a few *gaja-siṁha* and female figures found in the recesses. The important architectural peculiarity to be noticed here is the curvature of the *śikhara*, which does not show an inclination to the inside at the top. But the *śikhara* at its topmost portion marks an angle with the *āmalaka*. From this peculiarity it has got close affinity with the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

From two inscriptions[189] found on this temple, which are assigned to Rājā Paramadideva, younger brother of Śrī Ananta Varma Coḍagaṅgadeva and dated in the *Śaka* year 1064 (A.D. 1142), the temple has been ascribed to the late eleventh or early twelfth century A.D.[190]

Gaurī temple:—The temple dedicated to Gaurī is located inside the Kedareśvara compound. It is a *khākharā* type of temple which can be compared with the Vaitāl temple in connection with its architectural peculiarities. This temple has been suggested to be a close contemporary of the Mukteśvara temple.[191] Like the Mukteśvara, it has a plinth in the shape of a raised platform. The *alasa*-kanyās, scrolls, the dwarfs with uplifted hands, pitchers carved in *alto relievo* in the *Vimāna* and the large Caitya arches flanked by bearded figures holding a long chair, on the central pilaster, found on the Gaurī temple, can be compared with similar motifs on the Mukteśvara temple.

Another temple which can be assigned on the above grounds to the same period, as that of the Gaurī temple is the Sureśvara temple located near the Koṭitīrtheśvara temple in the close vicinity of the Svarṇajāleśvara temple. In addition to the above features, the Sureśvara temple has a Naṭarāja image on its front facade which is a close proto type of those found on the Mukteśvara temple.

Maṇibhadreśvara temple:—This temple is located very close to the temples of Vaitāl and Śiśireśvara, to their north (Pl. 8). It is in a dilapidated condition and contains only the *Vimāna* in *pañca-ratha* design. It is a plain temple with the pilasters not in round shape. The figures of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu were once depicted on the cubical portion of which we now find only eight images (Pls. 32 to 38 and 69). The Caitya arches in the shape of bells (Pl. 69) on this temple can be compared with such arches found on the *Vimāna* of the Brahmeśvara temple. From the stylistic consideration of the images found here and the architectural peculiarities of the temple it can be assigned to the Somavaṁśī epoch in Orissa.

Other temples of Bhubaneswar which have been assigned to the Somavaṁśī rule are the temple of Bhuvaneśvarī, located to the north of the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja temple, the temple of Siddha Lambodara inside the Liṅgarāja compound and Sidheśvara near the Mukteśvara temple.[192] It may be pointed out here that the temple of Bhuvaneśvarī is also a *khākharā* temple.

Puri:—In Puri we find many monuments of the Somavaṁśī period. These are the temples of Yameśvara, Lokanātha, Kapālamocana, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and the Narasiṁha temple inside the Jagannātha temple premises.[193] The Yameśvara temple is a *pañca-ratha* temple. The side deities of Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya and Pārvatī are found in their respective niches. As Ajaikapāda Śiva or Bhairava image is also located here. The Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple has three component chambers in its front. The architectural features are not clear due to heavy plastering of the temple. However, the presence of an inscription of the time of Coḍagaṅgadeva[194] in this temple would suggest its existence before the time of Coḍagaṅgadeva. Similarly another inscription[195] of the same king found on the entrance of the Narasiṁha temple, located to the west of the *Mukti-maṇḍapa* inside the Jagannātha temple premises, would suggest an early date to the temple. The *Mādalā Pāñji* as stated earlier, records the installation of the images of the seven monther goddesses on the bank of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara tank near the temple of the same name by Bhīma Keśarī. The images of the Sapta-mātṛkās now found in the same place (Pl.29 b) have been assigned to the reign period of Bhīmaratha. Thus Puri, predominantly a Vaiṣṇava centre contains many Śaiva shrines of the Somavaṁśī period.

Dayā valley:—Dayā is a small river flowing in the district of Puri. It originates from the river Bhārgavī near Bhubaneswar. A survey of antiquities of this river valley, conducted by the present writer as Curator of the Orissa State Archaeology Department, has brought to light, among other things, many monuments belonging to the Somavaṁśī period.[196] These are Siddha Gaṇeśa temple on the Dhauli hill, Somanātha temple (Pl. 10) at village Ghoradiya under the Delang P.S., Brahmeśvara temple at Beraboi (Pl. 9) under of the same P.S. Kunteśvara temple by the side of the Aragada hill near Jatni P.S., Arjuneśvara temple at village Haladivasanta on the eastern bank of river Dayā, Viśvanātha temple on the top of the hill of the same name under Delang P.S., *Dakṣiṇa* Caṇḍī temple at Balapur near the Tapang Railway Station of the south Eastern Railways, Rāmaṇīdhideva temple at Rameśvara in the Tangi P.S., Rāmakāntadeva temple at Rangta-Jajpur and Siddheśvara temple at the village of same name under the P.S. of Tangi, and Jaleśvara temple (Pl. 14) at Golabai under the Khurda P.S.

Among the above temples only few have any architectural importance. The *Dakṣiṇa* Caṇḍī temple at village Balapur is a *khākharā* temple and enshrines a later Mahiṣamardinī Durgā image. Another mutilated Durgā image, with ten arms, is noticed near the above sculpture. This image, which can be assigned to the Somavaṁśī period, was probably the original presiding deity of the temple. The temple is fully plastered and does not reveal any prominent architectural features. It is also significant to note here that temples dedicated to *Śākta* deities were built in the *khākharā* style, during our period, as evident from the present temple and the temples of Gaurī and Bhuvaneśvarī at Bhubaneswar.

The other temples of the Dayā valley, mentioned above, are of *pañca-ratha* design, rise abruptly from the ground and excluding a few most of them are plain structures. The Somanātha temple at village Ghoradiya, which faces west, has four smaller shrines at its four corners. This is the next *pañcāyatana* temple, after the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, of our period. The porch of this temple is a later addition as evident from the place of juncture between the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*. The door-jamb of this temple has similar features with the door jambs of the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The Dikpāla images are depicted in their proper places on the cubical portion of the main tower. They are shown riding their respective mounts in *lalitāsana*, another similar feature comparable with that of the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar. Other cult images found here are Andhakāsura-Vaddha image of Śiva, Ajaikapāda Bhairava (Pl. 44), Brahmā and Sarasvatī (?). The side deities are found in their proper niches. The Gaṇeśa sculpture is an eight armed dancing figure of the elephant faced god. The temple was, probably, a close contemporary of the Brahmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar or even an earlier one.

The Brahmeśvara temple at Beraboi is also of *pañca-ratha* design. The *Vimāna* of this temple has carvings on its *bāḍa* portion. The eight guardian deities of the directions alongwith Ajaikapada Bhairava, Ardhanārīśvara, Bhairava are found on the pilasters of the *jaṅghā* while the upper *jaṅghā* contains the figures of seven mother goddesses alongwith Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa. We find in the later temples of the Gaṅga period the respective Śaktis of the Dikpālas on the upper *jaṅghā*. Generally the *mātṛkā* figures are found in groups or individually. As such this peculiarity found in this temple is important in the sense that it probably led to the idea of depicting the Śaktis of the Dikpālas on the temples of the subsequent Gaṅga period.

The Jaleśvara temple found on the bank of the river Malāguṇi, a tributary of the river Dayā near the village Golabai is a dilapidated structure leaning to the south (Pl. 14). It is also built in *pañca-ratha* design but the pilasters are not prominent (Pl. 19). The side deities of Gaṇeśa (Pl. 21). Kārtikeya and Pārvatī are found in their respective places. Apart from this temple we find a small ten armed image of Mahiṣamardinī Durgā and an eight armed Durgā, near the temple site, and an eight armed Cāmuṇḍa (Pl. 28), another miniature ten armed Durgā image and an image of Sun (Pl. 39) from the nearby village. All these sculptures, exluding the eight armed Durgā image, can be ascribed to our period.

The temple of Khileśvara (Pl. 13) at Khellore is a single shrine of *rekhā* order built in *pañca-ratha* design. Like the Rājārānī and the Mukteśvara temples it rises abruptly from a raised plinth. This temple contains an inscription of Coḍagaṅgadeva[197] which would assign the construction of the temple to an earlier period. This was probably built during the last days of the Somavaṁśī supremacy in Orissa. The Dikpālas alongwith other cult images are found on the cubical portion of the temple. Miniature śikharas are prominent on the spire. The *bāḍa* and a portion of the *gaṇḍi* contains carving while the rest of the temple remains plain. Among the side deities we find only Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya but in broken condition. The depiction of the goddess Gajalakṣmī at the top centre of the door jambs, whether ornate or plain and which formed integral parts of the original structures, was another characteristic feature of a Somavaṁśī temple which helps us in dating these monuments, most of which are plain temples.

Prāci valley:—We also come across a number of temples belonging to our period in this valley located in between the present Puri and Cuttack districts. Notable among these temples are Aṅgeśvara at Fitapara, Durgā shrine at Motia, Amareśvara at village Amareśvara, Iśvaradeva at Jiunti, Grāmeśvara at Lataharana and Grāmeśvara at Nibharana.[198] Most of these temples are built in bricks. In fact brick temple architecture in this Prāci valley gained momentum during our period. This reminds us about the two unique brick temples in western Orissa, as we shall see below, the original seat of power of the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa. It is just possible that the Somavaṁśīs brought over this tradition of brick architecture to the coastal Orissa alongwith them. But nothing definite can be said regarding this at the present state of our knowledge.

Jajpur :— This place, identified by some scholars with Yayatinagara[199] of the Somavaṁśī inscriptions, was also a main centre of building activities during our period. Being mainly a *Śākta* centre here one come across many *Śākta* deities and monuments. The most important among them being, apart from the Virajā temple, the Sapta-mātṛkā figures[200] now found inside the compound of the Sub-Divisional Officer. These sculptures of the mother goddesses (Pl. 29a) have been assigned to the Somavaṁśī period. A local tradition ascribes Yayāti II with the performance of a ten fold vedic horse sacrifice at Jajpur. The tradition accordingly ascribes a bathing place with broad steps on the bank of river Vaitaraṇī called *Daśāśvamedhaghāṭ* (Pl. 15), to the reign of Yayāti II. The temple of Trilocaneśvara at Jajpur has also been dated in the tenth century A.D.[201]

Chaudwar :— Chaudwar is located on the north bank of Birupā, a branch of the Mahānadī. The antiquities of Chaudwar are both Buddhistic and Śaivite, dated about ninth and tenth centuries A.D.[202] Unfortunately most of the antiquities are missing at present. We come across the ruins of Kapāleśvara, Vaidyeśvara, Uttareśvara and Buḍḍhāliṅga temples at Chaudwar. A local tradition ascribes Janamejaya, identified with Janamejaya I of the Somavaṁśa, with the performance of a vedic sacrifice at Agarhat near Chaudwar. Several loose sculptures and the remnants of an old temple are found at this place. A beautiful image of Kārtikeya (Pl. 25) found here can be compared with similar sculptures on the known Somavaṁśī temples. Besides a short inscription in the characteristic of 10th-11th century script is found engraved on the entrance of the Buḍḍhāliṅga temple.

Among the other temples of Cuttack district which can be assigned to our period are the Kuṇḍeśvara temple at village Kundesvara under the Balikuda P.S., the Mahākāla temple on the Ratnagiri hill, Śiva temples at Kalarahanga near Baranga, Pañca Pāṇḍava temple at Ganesvarapur near Chatia, and the Paścimeśvarat temple of Amangei at Kandarpur near Athagada. The last temple (Pl. 3) is an earlier temple but its *Jagamohana* seems to have been constructed during our period. As stated earlier,[203] the temple contains an inscription of Vicitravīra, son of Janamejaya I, which would point to the construction of the porch during his period of rule as a governor of the coastal districts under Yayāti I.

The Birañci-Nārāyaṇa temple at Palia in the district of Balasore has been assigned to the Somavaṁśī period.[204] We come across a Śiva temple at village Naikapada near Belaguntha of the Ganjam district which can be assigned to our period. This temple alongwith its porch rise abruptly from a raised plinth. The *Vimāna* is of *pañca-ratha* design. The iconographical peculiarities noticed on the side deities can be compared with similar sculptures of known Somavaṁśī temple.

Temples of Western Orissa :—We come across two brick temples, the Pātāleśvara temple at Budhikomna (Pl. 5) near Khariar of Kalahandi district and the Indralāth temple at Ranipur-Jharial, which can be assigned to the early period of the Somavaṁśī rule in Orissa. The Pātāleśvara temple is unique[205] in the sense that its *Vimāna* is of *pañca-ratha* design and the temple rises abruptly from the ground level. The pāgas of this temple are not rounded as in case of temples of the coastal districts. They are developed with angular points so that an aerial view of the outside plan of the sanctum would look as star shaped with the pāgas acting as points of the star. The nine planet slab is found acting as lintel over the door way which has the Gajalakṣkmī in *lalitāsana*.

This temple has, like the brick temple of Lakṣmaṇa at Śrīpura, a sanctum and a pillared porch infront (now collapsed) with an ante chamber (*antarāla*) connecting the two. As such we find here the influence of the central Indian architecture. The temple is a close contemporary of the brick temple at Ranipur-Jharial, dated in the 9th-10 century A.D.

The brick temple at Ranipur-Jharial was dedicated to Viṣṇu as evident from the Vaisnavite side deities of Varāha, Trivikrama and Narasiṁha found in the central niches of this temple. This is the highest brick temple in Orissa, the height of the *Vimāna* being 70′ (Pl. 6). A stone door way is found here. The temple, in its architectural peculiarities, resemble the central Indian style and has been dated in the ninth-tenth century A.D.[206]

We have earlier referred to the Buddhist and Jaina centres of the period under discussion. During our period "the building spree and also making of images continued at Ratnagiri *mahāvihāra* as a result of which the site teamed with a good number of temples, housing images of various Buddhist deities and myriads of stūpas, many of which were monolithic ones".[207] Other centres of Buddhist activities were Solampura near Jajpur, Chaudwar, Brahmavana near Salipur, Banpur and Kuruma near Konarak. Buddhist Dhāraṇīs in the script of tenth-eleventh century A.D. found engraved on the Buddhist sculptures at Brāhmavan and the brick monastry exposed as a result of trial digging by Orissa State Archaelogy would assign the site to a date in the Somavaṁśī period. A Similar Buddhist monastry has been unearthed at Kuruma near Konarak. The sculptures of Buddha, in *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*, and Yamāntaka (Pl. 54) found enshrined in a thatched house near the above site, alongwith discovered clay seals containing Buddhist Dhāraṇīs would lead us to date the site in the tenth-eleventh century A.D. D. Mitra[208] draws our attention to a Buddhist palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Manuscript No. 1643) which has an illustration of the Kuruma-*stūpa* of Odṛa-*deśa* alongwith other illustrations of Alagataru-Tārā of Oḍra-*deśa* and Khadiravani-Tārā of Koṅgo (da)-*maṇḍala*. The manuscript is dated in A.D. 1015. This would prove that Kuruma was a famous Buddhist centre of Oḍra-*deśa* during our period. The present Banpur in Puri district contains large brick mounds and a temple has been erected on the top of a Buddhist *stūpa* as evident from the remains there. The above reference from the Tibetan manuscript throws considerable light on the Buddhist activities at Banpur and Kuruma during our period.

The activities of the Jainas were confined during our period mostly to the Khandagiri hill near Bhubaneswar, Charampa and Ayodhya in Balasore, and the Koraput district.

Iconography :— It is a fact that the descriptions given in Sanskrit iconographic texts about the forms and attributes of particular deities do not, in many cases, tally with their actual representations found in different parts of India. In Orissa no *Tantra* texts are as yet available which can help us in correctly identifying the icons of Hinduism. "The images of the same deity are found to be changed from period to period either due to a change of the iconographic texts or of the prevailing popular conception about it."[209] As such an image of Orissa can be dated better by the internal evidences found on the sculpture. With this in mind and with a comparative study of dated images we can classify the iconographical features of our period as follows. This classification holds good even for Jaina and Buddhist deities. The following iconographical peculiarities of our period are based more on the typological study of the sculptures.

1. During our period images were carved out of single blocks of stones and placed either in the niches of a temple or separately for worship.
2. From a study of the sculptures of the dated and known temples of Bhubaneswar it is evident that chlorite stone was used for the first time for carving sculptures, atleast around Bhubaneswar, during the Somavaṁśī period.
3. The development of the arch, *prabhāvalī*, behind the image on the oblong stones, took place for the first time in this period. The arch was in linear

form at the beginning (Pl. 30) which later gradually developed into the deeply carved arch pattern originating from two pilasters on the sides and terminating below a *kīrtimukha* motif (Pls. 23, 24 and 40) at the top centre of the oblong stone slab.

4. The emergence of three dimensional appearance of the sculptures as a result of the above (Pl. 29a).
5. The halo behind the deities became more round in shape (Pls. 26 and 43).
6. In the *sthāṇaka* or standing images we find three lotus pedestals below the main deity and the attending figures. The bigger lotus in the centre is provided for the central deity while the smaller ones on the sides are meant for the attending figures (Pls. 21 to 25, 50 and 55).
7. Another important iconographic feature of this period is the depiction of *jāta-makuṭa* above the head of both the male and female deities. This peculiar *jāta-makuṭa*, resembling faintly with the branches of a fir tree, is found as the crown of deities belonging to different sects. (Pls. 26, 42 to 44, 46-47, 50 and 58).

Gaṇeśa:—During this period Gaṇeśa is depicted either in standing or dancing postures. In the former representation he is shown with four arms (Pls. 21-22). The right arms hold a broken tusk and *akṣa-mālā* while the left arms hold the sweet vase and the *kuṭhāra* (axe), which rests on the ground. The mouse is invariably represented. In the dancing form Gaṇeśa is represented with eight arms (Pl. 20). The upper most hands hold a snake over the head. Other right arms show the attributes of broken tusk, *akṣa-mālā* and dancing *mudrā* while the left arms show sweet vase, *kuṭhāra* and a dancing *mudrā*. Alongwith the mouse musicians are depicted on the pedestal.

Kārtikeya:—Kārtikeya images of our period are depicted with four arms in *sthāṇaka* pose with the waist bent a little towards the right. The right arms show the attributes of *kunta* (spear) and *varada*. The left arms are kept over a cock, lifted by an attendent. The pea-cock is depicted behind the deity (Pls. 24-25).

Pārvatī:—Pārvatī sculptures are generally four-handed images in *sthāṇaka* pose. The right arms show the attributes of a snake twisted into a nose and *varada* while the left arms have the attributes of a club and a lotus with its stem rising from the left (Pl. 23). The mount, lion, is also depicted.

Durgā:—Mahiṣamardinī Durgā is generally depicted with ten arms carrying different weapons of war such as the sword, the shield, the arrow, the bow, the snake, the thunder-bolt, the trident etc. The demon is depicted as emerging out of the decapitated body of the buffalo on which the deity has her right foot. The lion, the mount of the goddess, is also shown engaged in the fight. One left arm of the deity presses down the demon. The severed buffalo head is depicted below (Pl. 27).

Ardhanārīśvara:—Generally we get standing images of this deity. But sitting images are also available. In general the female part is depicted on the left part of the body and the male part on the right. The male part show the attributes of

Śiva and the female part features of Pārvatī. Our present sculpture (Pl. 26) which is in *padmāsana* has in the upper right arm a *japa-mālā* while the lower right arm, which is broken now, probably, held the trident as evident from the pedestal. The left upper arm holds a flower and left lower arm holds a pot.

Cāmuṇḍā (Pl. 28):—This sculpture is shown with eight arms seated on a lotus below which a dead body is depicted. The deity is shown in a terrible form and has a garland of skulls. She is shown with a sunken belly, eyes and an emaciated body. But the other members of the Sapta-mātṛkā group are generally shown seated in *lalitāsana* with a baby each on their left laps (Pl. 29) and their respective mounts below them. They have four arms each and are found in their benevolent aspects.

Viṣṇu:—Viṣṇu sculptures of the period are found in *sthāṇaka* pose with four arms. The right upper arm holds the *cakra* or discus and the right lower arm show the attribute of *varada* with a lotus mark on the palm while the left upper arm holds the *śaṅkha* or conch shell and the left lower arm holds the *gadā* or mace which touches the ground. The mount Garuḍa is found at below right (Pls. 30-31). According to the iconographical texts this type of Viṣṇu image is known as Acyuta.[210] But these images are generally worshipped as Mādhava images in Orissa.

We come across various other deities of Brāhmanical as well as Buddhist and Jaina faiths during our period. The dating of these sculptures can be based on the iconographical features noted above. In connection with the Jaina sculptures of our period, it can be pointed out here that the introduction of the Śāśanadevīs alongwith the Tīrthaṅkaras was a novel feature of the Somavaṁśī period.

The Yoginī temples:—In Orissa two circular temples, without roofs, are dedicated to the cult of Yoginīs. The first one is located at Ranipur-Jharial and the second one at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar. In these temples we find the 64 Yoginī sculptures placed in niches along the walls of these temples (Pls. 45-46). In the Hirapur temple, in addition to the Yoginīs, the nine Kātyāyanīs are depicted on the outer wall of the temple and several Bhairava sculptures are found inside, placed on the pillars of the central shrine. At Ranipur-Jharial a dancing image of three headed Śiva adorns the central structure.

The Yoginī temple at Ranipur-Jharial has been assigned to the ninth century A.D.[211] or more precisely to the reign period of the Somavaṁśa.[212] The Hirapur temple has been dated in the eighth or the early ninth century A.D.[213] K.N. Mahapatra, who first brought this temple at Hirapur to lime light, suggests the Yoginī temples at Ranipur-Jharial and Bheraghat to be later in date than the Hirapur temple.[214] The Bheraghat Yoginī temple has been dated in the 10th century A.D.[215]

From the history of the Somavaṁśa dynasty and a study of the Yoginī temples and their sculptures in Orissa, it would lead us to believe that the Yoginī temple of Ranipur-Jharial preceded the temple at Hirapur in date. Our suggestion is based on the following observations:

(1) The idea of the Yoginī cult entered Orissa from the central Indian territory alongwith the Somavaṁśī kings of Orissa, who originally hailed from the

Mekala region.

(2) In a similar way it entered the coastal Orissa from the western Orissa.

(3) The Yoginī sculptures of Ranipur-Jharial show an earlier stage of the sculptural art in Orissa and their crude form of representation can be attributed to the type of stone used in carving them as well as the influence of the local art tradition, as noticed in other sculptures of this place.

(4) Tāntric form of worship was widely prevalent in Orissa by the time Yayāti I annexed the coastal districts in to the Somavaṁśī kingdom. This was even encouraged by the early members of the Somavaṁśa as evident from the Saptamātṛkā sculptures of Puri assigned to the reign of Bhīmaratha. Temples were even erected for *Śaktā* goddesses, at Bhubaneswar during this period.

(5) The Yoginī sculptures of Hirapur are carved from chlorite stone, which, we have shown above, to be a characteristic feature of the Somavaṁśī period.

(6) Comparison of Yoginī sculptures of Hirapur with the sculptures on the Somavaṁśī temples would reveal a close similarity in the programme of hair-style, ornamentation and anatomical treatment of the limbs on such sculptures (Pls. 48-49).

(7) The iconographical features, mentioned above, of the Somavaṁśī periods such as the presence of *jāta-makuṭa*, the *prabhavali* and the three dimensional appearance of images are clear on cetrain sculptures of Hirapur (Pls. 43, 46, 47).

(8) Lastly the practice of carving images in sections was prevalent during the Bhauma-kara period while carving images from a single block of stone became popular during the Somavaṁśī period. As such we find the Yoginī sculptures at Hirapur attached to their niches instead of forming parts of the hypetheral temple.

All the above would lead us to assign the Yoginī temple at Hirapur a date in the tenth century A.D. and more precisely in the second part of the tenth century A.D., later than the dates assigned to the Mukteśvara and the Gaurī temples at Bhubaneswar.

Art:—During the Somavaṁśī period the plastic art was at its best form. This is evident from some of the beautiful sculptures of the period made in stone. This is illustrated in the images of Varuṇa (Pl.41) of the Rājārānī temple, Kārtikeya and Pārvatī sculptures of the Liṅgarāja temple (Pls. 23 and 24), the four Buddhist sculptures found at Haripur near Jatni (Pls. 56-59), and other Buddhist sculptures from the different places. In these images we find proportionate body treatment, excellent facial expression, beautiful ornamentation and superb finish. The artists of our period were adopt at depicting at the same time the serence expression on the face of a Buddha sculpture, the meditative look on a Tīrthaṅkara image, the smiling and benevolent expression on the face of a Viṣṇu image, and the seductive look on a *nāyikā* sculpture as well as the fierce looking countenance on some of the Tāntric Buddhist and Hindu deities.

The discovery of a large number of metal sculptures belonging to the different sects from Achutarajapur near Banpur would show that image making in metals was also known to the artists of the period. These images in metal were made by the casting technique using the "lost wax" process called *madhucchiṣṭavidhāna*.[216] From the find spot of the above bronzes, now preserved in the Orissa State

Museum and many of which belong to our period, it is evident that the present Banpur in Puri was a main centre of this metal craft during the Somavaṁśī period.

Under the subject are, of this period, we can include certain decorative motifs found on the temples as well as the sculptures. The various decorative motifs on a temple of our period are the different forms of Caitya arches (Pls. 68 and 69), *alasa-nāyikās* (Pls. 67 and 70), erotic sculptures, *gaja-siṁha* figures, *gavākṣa* windows with sculptures on them, *vajra-mastaka*[217] and other such motifs. The profuse ornamentation of sculptures as well as the temples with designs of scroll work, bead and animal motifs can also be considered as the excellence attained in the field of art during this period.

Painting:—We have no evidence of painting in any form belonging to our period. But the reddish tinct found on the Gaṇeśa sculpture of the Kedāreśvara temple and the Liṅgarāja temple as well as the traces of red colour found on the main *vajra-mastaka*, found on the central pilaster of the Liṅgarāja temple on its eastern facade, would lead us to believe that the use of red-ochre-pigment in painting the sculptures and temples of the period were known then.

Thus the development of art and architecture under the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa, with their active patronage, has contributed a Liṅgarāja temple, considered to be the best temple in the East, a Mukteśvara temple, which is a gem of Orissan architecture and scores of other temples and sculptures for which Orissa is justly proud today. The alround development in every sphere of human life of this period for which the Somavaṁśīs were responsible, made some of them immortal figures in the history and tradition of the State.

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APPENDIX I

CAPITAL CITIES OF THE SOMAVAMŚĪ KINGDOM

The inscriptions of the Somavaṁśa and their feudatories record different place names. Some of these place names are stated to have been the places of issue of the respective charters recording such names. In ancient times the royal charters were generally issued from the seat of the royal authority, mostly the capital of a kingdom and in some cases the temporary residence of a king such as victorious military camps or temporary headquarters. From the epigraphic records of the period under discussion we come across several places names, believed to have been the places of issue of these records. They are Suvarṇapura, Ārāma-*kaṭaka,* Murasīma-*pattana*, Vinītapura, Yayātinagara, Kiśarakela and Sūkarakaṭaka.

Suvarṇapura:— The first and last copper plate grants of Janamejaya[1] I, recorded in his third and thirty-fourth regnal years respectively, the only copper plate grant of Yayāti II,[2] and the Sonepur plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva were issued from Suvarṇapura. Suvarṇapura has been identified with the present town of Sonepur[3] in the district of Bolangir.

We have seen earlier that the Somavaṁśa power was first established in the area around present Sonepur by Janamejaya I, who, most likely, made Suvarṇapura his capital. That Suvarṇapura was an important city of the Somavaṁśī kingdom is evident from the Maranjamura Charter of Yayāti II, issued in his third regnal year. Yayāti II, as seen earlier, recaptured this city of Suvarṇapura alongwith the Trikaliṅga territory from the invading forces, probably the Coḷas. Besides its strategic importance, due to its location at a centre place in between the territories of Trikaliṅga, Odra and Kosala, Suvarṇapura, has been described as a beautiful city in the above charter of Yayāti II. The inscription informs us that *pattana* Suvarṇapura was located near the confluence of the rivers Mahānadī and Tela, "whose water is adorned with the liquid eddies crested with foam-flowers, which glitter with moon-beams as are made of the purest cooling rays and are like the nectar of *Dharma* itself.........". Further, it describes that "Yayāti II caused many men to build temples for various gods and the *maṇḍapa* (royal pavilion) in the *ārama* or park for *vihāra* (pleasurable recreation) together with *udyāna* or garden......[4]". The charter describes the goddess Bhagavatī Pañcambarī Bhadrāmbikā as the presiding deity of the city of Suvarṇapura[5]. Thus the city had gardens, parks and many temples and stood at the confluence of the rivers Mahānadī and Tela.

Murasīma:—The next four charters[6] of Janamejaya I were issued from Murasīma, or *pattana*-Murasīma which has been identified with Murasinga, about 13 miles south-west of Bolangir[7]. From the passage *Murasīma—samāvāsitah śrīmato vijaya-kaṭakāt* found in the Patna Plates of Janamejaya. Fleet suggests that the grant was issued from modern Cuttack while the king was in his residence at Murasīma[8]. While editing the Nagpur Museum Plates of the same king, issued from Murasīma, Hultzsch observes, "As however, it could be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to take the following word *kaṭaka* to mean 'a camp' and not the city of Cuttack. Thus the inscription of the 6th year is dated 'from the prosperous camp of victory', pitched at Murasima".[9] R.D. Banerji considers the expression to mean from the victorious camp of the illustrious one at Murasīma[10].

Ārāma:—In a similar way the copper plate inscriptions[11] of Janamejaya I, issued in his seventeenth and thirty-first regnal years, record the passage *Ārāma-samāyāsitah śrīmato vijaya-kaṭakāt*. In this case also the word *kaṭaka* cannot be taken as indicating the present Cuttack city, as suggested by Fleet. We have seen earlier that the coastal Orissa came under the control of the Somavaṁśīs only during the rule of Yayāti I. B. Ch. Chhabra thinks that Ārāma was a place, perhaps not far from the town of Sonepur where the royal camp was often pitched[12]. The Sonepur Plates of Janamejaya I contain a description of the place of issue—Ārāma—as follows:

"From the prosperous Ārāma, which has (all) the ten quarters deafened by the fluttering noise of the flocks of pigeons frightened by the jingle of the anklets (worn) on the feet of the numerous excellent courtesans (moving) within the enclosures of mensions having floors (studded) with bright jewels, which has its fame spread by minstrels hailing from different countries, which (vies-in opulence-with) the wealth of Kubera (lit. lord of riches) exalted in poetic narrations produced by scholars endowed with various learning (and) which has eclipsed the grandeur of Amarāvatī (lit. city of gods) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces, lofty buildings, temples, gardens, step-wells, wells and tanks".[13] From the above it would appear that Ārāma was the name of a place, as suggested by Chhabra, which could have been nearer to Suvarṇapura.

It is interesting to note here that the city of Murasīma has also been described in similar verses[14] as that of Ārāma, as stated above.

Thus it would appear from the above discussion that Janamejaya I made Suvarṇapura his capital and Murasīma and Ārāma, probably, denoted, his victorious camp-sites.

Vinītapura:—With the advent of the reign period of Yayāti I, we find that Vinītapura was chosen as the capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom. This place has been identified with Binka[15] on the Mahānadī, about 16 miles to the north of Sonepur, in the district of Bolangir. The Orissa State Museum Plates of Yayāti I, issued in his fourth regnal year, was the first Somavaṁśī charter to have been issued from Vinītapura. This place continued to be the capital atleast upto the 15th regnal year of Yayāti I[16].

Yayātinagara:—The last two copper plate inscriptions of Yayāti I, issued in his 24th and 28th regnal years, record the place of issue as Yayātinagara, apparently named after Yayāti I. In fact all the remaining copper plate inscriptions of the dynasty and their feudatories, excluding four inscriptions, are stated to have been issued from Yayātinagara. Before discussing the identification of Yayātinagara let us discuss about the other places of issue as recorded in the four inscriptions stated above.

As stated above, the Maranjamura Charter of Yayāti II and the Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva were issued from Suvarṇapura. The third inscription, the Mahakosala Historical Society Plates[17] of Mahābhavagupta, identified with Bhīmaratha and recorded in his eleventh regnal year, were issued from Kiśarakella. The relevant passage reads—*Kiśarakella-samāvāsitah mahāvijaya-kaṭakāt*[18]. This place has been identified with the village of Kesarkela, about six miles to the east of Bolangir, by the learned editor of the plates[19]. The recently discovered Degaon Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Mugdhagondaladeva was issued from Sūkarakataka, of unknown identity. As to the identification of Yayātinagara scholars hold different opinions. Hiralal considers it to be another name of Vinītapura.[20] B. Misra, who would distinguish the above two places, thinks that Yayātinagara was in the vicinity of Sonepur wherefrom abundant archaeological materials have been unearthed[21]. Fleet on the other hand considers Yayātinagara to be a fanciful name of Cuttack[22] and suggests that it cannot be identified with Jajpur on the river Vaitarani as it is described to be on the bank of Mahānadī. N.K. Sahu is of the view that the small village of Jakti[23], on the river Mahānadī and near the present Baud town of the Phulabani district, should be identified with Yayātinagara. The traces of a large medieval fort is found at this place[24]. P. Acharya is inclined to believe the view held by B. Misra[25] K.N. Mahapatra[26] identifies Yayātinagara with Chaudwar...From a perusal of the copper plate records of Yayāti I it would appear that Vinītapura was named after Yayāti I as Yayātinagara.

The two Patna Plates of the king, issued in his 24th and 28th regnal years, describe the city of Yayātinagara, in the following manner:

"Om Hail : From the glorious town of Yayātinagara,—(line 13)—Where the enjoyment of love is being continually intensified and still more intensified by the close embraces, (of lovers), by which fatigue removed, in which hissing sound often appears and in which hairs often stand on their ends, although such enjoyment suffers interruptions as the ardent young couple show their skill in various processes of conjugal enjoyment with their eyes dilated (with excitement) and with their minds subdued and fascinated by amorous thoughts; (lines 1—4)—

— where, even in the midst of quarrels arising from jealousy, lovers, beaten by lotuses from the ears of women who have cast the beauty of the celestial damsels into shade by the greatness of their endless and peculiar charms, have all their mental anguishes roused to action by the entrance of the sharp arrows of Cupid, with their hairs standing on the ends (lit. sprouting up) on account of the sprinkling of the drops of sweat (from the persons of the objects of their love); (line 4-7)—

—where, at the tops of houses beautifully white-washed, the places of assignation of unchaste women and their pearl ornaments were whitened by the clusters of rays issuing from the club-like tusks of very lofty elephants—the rays which rendered the autumn moon useless in the matter of dispelling darkness; (lines 7-11)

—(and) where the fatigue of the women enjoying conjugal caresses with ardent attachment is removed by the breezes surcharged with the particles of water sent up by the breaking and swelling of the high waves of the Mahānadī[27] (lines 11-13)."

The description of Vinītapura is given in the Cuttack Plates of Yayāti I, recorded in his 9th regnal year, in four identical verses as that of the verses given in the two Patna Plates, quoted above, where the word Vinitāpura is found in place of Yayātinagara.[28] This epigraphic evidence as well as the archaeological remains found at Binka corroborate the view of Hiralal that Vinītapura was subsequently changed into Yayātinagara during Yayāti I's reign.

Thus the present towns of Sonepur and Binka in the districts of Bolangir were the respective capital towns of the Somavaṁśī kingdom under Janamejaya I and Yayāti I. The epigraphic records of Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha and Indraratha would show that Yayātinagara or modern Binka continued to be the capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom upto the end of Indrarath's rule in about A.D. 1020. K.C. Panigrahi[29] is of the opinion that Binka, then known as Yayātinagara, remained as capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom upto the beginning of Yayāti II's rule; who shifted his capital to coastal Orissa and made present Jajpur his new capital. This new capital of the Somavaṁśī kingdom was given the name *Abhinava* (new) Yayātinagara. According to Panigrahi this is evident from the *Mādalā Pāñji*, which records the word *Abhinava-Yayātinagara* while describing the events that took place during the rule of the Gaṅga king, Anaṅgabhīmadeva.[30]

We have stated earlier[31] that Yayāti I ruled from Kosala and made the newly acquired territories of coastal Orissa a secondary unit of his kingdom. This position was reversed during the time of Yayāti II. When the seat of royal authority was shifted to coastal Orissa and the administration of Kosala was assigned to a family member. The Sonepur Plates of Kumāra Someśvaradeva inform us that Kosala was assigned to Abhimanyu by Udyotakeśarīdeva.

From the above it would appear that the Somavaṁśī kingdom had two cities with the same name of Yayātinagara, named after both Yayāti I and II. Scholars are not unanimous in their identification of Yayātinagara. Besides most of the scholars take both the Yayātinagaras as one and try to locate Yayātinagara of coastal Orissa in Kosala. That in fact there existed two cities of the same name in the Somavaṁśī kingdom would be clear from our following discussions.

During the invasion of the Coḷa army there was only one Yayātinagara located in Kosala. In this connection the Tamil sources[32] reveal that—"a large heap of family treasure, together with many (other) treasure, (which he carried away) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place in the hall (at) Ādinagar (identified with Yayātinagara), (a city) which was famous for unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-*viṣaya*, which was difficult to approach, (and which he subdued in) close fights; and the good Kosalai-*ṇāḍu*, where Brāhmaṇas assembled". From the above translation of the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendra Coḷa it appears that the Coḷa army first defeated Somavaṁśī king Indraratha in his capital at Yayātinagara which led to the surrender of Oḍra, after a tough fight, and Kosala. As seen earlier Oḍra or the coastal Orissa, during this time was ruled through a governor of the Somavaṁśī kings. Thus it would be natural for the governor of Oḍra to resist the advance of the Coḷa army and help his sovereign who was stationed at Kosala.

Secondly the inscriptions of the later members of the Somavaṁśa, from Udyotakeśarī onwards strangely enough, simply record the phrase *Yayāti-nagarāt* without giving any physical features or the description of the city. The reference to the river Mahānadī is significantly absent in these records. This was probably due to the change of capital of the kingdom.

Besides, "the Somavaṁśī kings Udyotakeśarī and Karṇṇadeva issued their charters from Yayātinagara which cannot be taken as Yayātinagara of the Kosala country, because when these grants were made, the former had assigned Kosala to Abhimanyu, probably a prince of the Somavaṁśī dynasty, to rule over it and the latter had lost Kosala[33]".

Fourthly, in *Pavanadutaṁ* of Dhoyi the wind messenger is asked to proceed from Yayātinagara to Suhma or modern Midnapore. This would show that Yayātinagara in coastal Orissa and Suhma were adjacent territories.

Lastly, as stated above, from the *Mādalā Pāñji* we know about *Abhinava* or new Yayātinagara which pre-supposes the existence of an old Yayātinagara[34].

Thus there were two Yayātinagaras in the Somavaṁśī kingdom.

K.C. Panigrahi identifies *Abhinava* Yayātinagara with present Jajpur[35] in the Cuttack district. The archaeological remains at Jajpur[36], which can be assigned to the Somavaṁśī period, supports his identification. According to[37] him the word Jajpur is derived from the word Yāgapura, which itself is a corrupt form of Yajñapura. He further holds that the tradition which ascribes a ten-fold horse sacrifice at Jajpur, then known as Yayātinagara, to Yayāti II, was responsible for the change of the name of the city later into Yajñapura.

It is also clear that after Yayāti II established his new capital in coastal Orissa the old capital of Yayātinagara in Kosala lost its importance and, probably, the old name Vinītapura became popular, as evident from present name of the place Binka.

So we find that the members of the Somavaṁśa ruled from Kosala with Yayātinagara or present Binka as their capital. With the shifting of their political activities to coastal Orissa, present Jajpur became their new capital and acquired the name Yayātinagara.

Notes and References

1. "Vakaratentali Grant" and "Kalibhana Plates".
2. "Maranjamura Charter" or "Jatesinga & Dungri Plates".
3. Hiralal, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 201, H.C. Ray, D.H.N.I., Vol. I, p. 396, fn. 2.
4. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. II, 1916. pp. 54-55.
5. *Ibid.*, Line 10 of the text.
6. "Kalibhana Plates", "Patna Plates", "Patna Museum Plates" and "Nagpur Museum Plates".
7. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 198.
8. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 341.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 139.
10. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 210.
11. "Gaintala Plates", "Sonepur Plates" and three "Chaudwar Plates".
12. *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 250.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
14. *Cf.* lines 1 to 6 of the text of "Kalibhana Plates", R.Y.-6th, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 238-244 ff and lines 1 to 6 of the text of "Sonepur Plates", R.Y.-17th, *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-55 ff.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 199; B. Misra, *D.M.O.*, pp. 68-69.
16. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 95-98 ff.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8 ff.
18. Lines 1-2 of the text.
19. *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8 ff.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 189 & 199-200.
21. *D.M.O.*, p. 75.
22. *E.I.*, Vol. III, p. 355.
23. *U.U.H.O.*, Vol. I, pp. 137-38.
24. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XV, p. 73.
25. *S.O.H.A.A.*, p. 94.
26. *S.H.A.C.O.*, p. 549.
27. G.M. Laskar, *J.A.S.B.*, (*N.S*)., Vol. I, 1905, pp. 7-12 & 16-23 ff, lines 1-13 of the text.
28. *E.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 351-55 ff, lines 1-12 of the text.
29. *Itihāsa 'O' kimbadantī*, (Oriya), pp. 13-14.
30. A.B. Mahanty, Ed., *Mādalā Pāñji*, p. 28.
31. See above page 66.
32. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 233.
33. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.*, p. 13.
34. K.C. Panigrahi, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
36. See above page 181.
37. *Itihāsa 'O' Kimbadanti*, p. 17.

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APPENDIX II

ABBREVIATIONS USED :—D.V.—DONATED VILLAGE, R.O.—RESIDENT OF, I.O.—IMMIGRANT OF, *ŚU-DI.—SUKLA DINA, VA. DI.—VAHULA DINA.*

Sl. No.	Name of the copper plate Grant	Donor and Regnal year	Details of Donee	Place of Issue	Designation of the Officers	Name of the Officers	Occasion & date of the grant	Villages (Grāma)	Sub-Divns. (*Khaṇḍa*)	Districts (*Viṣaya*)	Division Province & Country (*Moṇḍala* Deśa)	Identification of Place names	Remarks and References
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.	“Vakratentali Grant”	Mahābhavagupta-I Janamejaya I, 3rd R.Y.	Bhaṭṭaputra Jātarupa, son of Śrī Śrivaccha of Kauṇḍīnya *gotra*, Maitra-Varuṇa-Vaśiṣṭha *pravara* & Cchandoga caraṇa.	Suvarṇapura[1]	Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika, Kāyastha (Writer) Engraver	Koighoṣa, son of Vallaghoṣa. Saṅgrāma son of Rāyana Ojha.	Viṣumati saṅikrānti, Śrāvana *Śu.di*-5.	Vakratentali[2] (D.V.) Valli Kandara (I.O.) Maraḍa[3] (R.O.)	Lupattara.[4]	—	Rāḍha[5] (I.O.)	1. Sonepur (20°.51″N.83.°54″ E) in the Bolangir district. 2. Banatantely (20°53″N,83°.42E″ in Bolangir district. 3. Modern Menda, 17 miles west of Sonepur town. 4. Lepta, 6 miles south-west of Bolangir. 5. South-West Bengal.	1. B. Misra, *D.M.O.* pp. 66-67. 2. *Ibid.*, H.C. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 397, fn. 1. 3. *Ibid.*, fn. 3. 4. *Ibid.*, fn. 2, B. Misra, *Op. cit.* 5. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 217.
2.	“Kalibhana plates”	—do—, 6th R.Y.	Bhaṭṭaputra Govinda, son of Koṇḍā of Parāśara *gotra* Vaśiṣṭha-Śakti-Parāśara *pravara* Mādhyandina *śākhā*, & Vājasaneya *caraṇa.*	Murasīma[6] pattan	Mahāsāndhi-Vigrahī Kāyastha Suvarṇakāra (Goldsmith engraver)	Malla datta, son of Dhāra datta Koighoṣa Vapuka. son of Savadeva	Phālguna *Śu.di*-1	Jamvu[7] (D.V. & R.O.) Hastipada (I.O.)	—	Potā[8]	—	6(a). Moorsima (20°.59″N,83°.33″E on the bank of Ong river. (b). Murasinga in Bolangir dist., 13 miles South-West of Bolangir. 7. Jamgaon, Adjacent to the village Kalibhana, 9 miles North-East of Bolangir. 8. Village Pow, 19 miles south of Binka in Bolangir district.	6. (a) B. Misra, *Op cit.*; (b) Hiralal, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 198. 7. D.C. Circar & P.C. Rath. *I.H.Q.* Vol. XX, pp. 237 & 240. 8. Hiralal, *Op. cit.*, p. 199; H.C. Ray. *Op. cit.* p. 399; D.C. Sircar, *Op. cit.*, p. 240.
3.	“Patna Plates”	—do—, 6th R.Y.	(1) Bhaṭṭaputra Dāmaka, son of Aivuli of Kautsa *gotra*, Aṅgīrasa-Ambāri-Yauvanāśva *pravara*, a student of Sāma *Veda* and Kuthuma *śākhā*. (2) Son of Narapagaṇḍa of Gautama *gotra*, Aṅgīrasa-*pravara*. Vārhaṣpatya *anupravara*, a student of Yajur *Veda* and Kanva *śākhā*. (3) Bhaṭṭaputra, Vāsudeva son of Hṛṣīkeśa of Kṛṣnātreya *gotra*, Arccha-nānasa *pravara*, Śyāvasvana *anu-pravara*, a student of Yajur *Veda* and Kanva *śākhā*. (4) Son of Rāma śarmmā of Agastī *gotra*, Idhmavāva *pravara*, Cyavana *anupravara*, a student of Yajur *Veda* and Kanva *śākhā*.	Murasīma	Mahāsāndhi-vigrahī Kāyastha	Malla datta Koighoṣa.	Āṣāḍha *Śu.di*-8	Leisraṅga[9] (R.O.) Oḍayasṛṅga[10] (I.O.) Khaṇḍa *kṣetra* (R.O.) Koṅkaleḍḍā[11] (I.O.) Lipatuṅga[12] (R.O.) Vakabeḍḍa[13] (D.V.)		Oṅgātaṭa[14]	Pampāsarasī (I.O.)	9. Loisinga, 11 miles of north Bolangir. 10. Odsing in the native state of Athamallika. 11. Probably Koknara in Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Nrsinghanatha at Paikamal. 12. Probably Lapta (No. 4 above). 13(a). Bakebira near Salebhata P.S. (b). Probably Bakti, 15 miles north of Bolangir. (c). Vankavira (20°.53″N,83°.50″ E) in Bolangir district 14. District by the side of river Oṅg, a tributary of Mahānadī	9. *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 198. 10. *Ibid.*, p. 101; B. Misra, *Op. cit.* 11. Hiralal, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 198, B. Misra, *Op. cit.* 13a. B.C. Mazumdar, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 101. b. Hiralal, *Ibid.*, p. 198. c. B. Misra, *Op. cit* 14. Hiralal, *Op. cit.*,

1	2	3	6	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
4.	"Patna Museum Plates".	—do—, 6th R.Y.	Bhaṭṭaputra Keśava and Apya, sons of Bhaṭṭa Daḍḍi of Kauśīka *gotra*, Audala-Devarāṭa-Viśvāmitra *pravara* and a student of Kanva *śākhā*.	—do—	—do—	—do—	Kārttika *Śu.di*-13	Komnāpira (1.0.) Loisṛṅga[15] (R.O.) Pāśitala[16] (D.V.)	—	Potā[17]	—	15. Same as No. 9 above. 16. Modern Pointala, 2 miles east of Bolangir. 17. Same as No. 8 above,	16. H.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p. 399, fn. 1, B. Misra, *Op. cit.*; Hiralal, *Op. cit.*, p. 200.
5.	"Nagpur Museum Plates".	—do—, 8th R.Y.	Bhaṭṭaputra Śānthakara, son of Dhṛtikara of Gautama *gotra*, Gautama-Aṅgīrasa-Autathya *pravara*, a student of Vājasaneya-Mādhyandina *śākhā*.	—do—	Dūtaka Mahāsāndhivigrahi. Kāyastha. Engraver.	Mahāmahattama. Śrī Sādhāraṇa. Malladatta. Āllava, son of Kailasa. Saṅgrāma, son of Rāyaṇa Ojhâ.	Kārttika *Śu.di*-12	Satallamā[18] (D.V.) Puruṣa-maṇḍapa[19] (I.O.) Murujuṅgā (R.D.)	—	Kaśaladā[20]	Oḍra *deśa* (I.O.)	18. Modern Satlama in Bargarh Tahasil of Sambalpur dist. 19. Mandapa in the formerly Baud State. 20. Modern Kusarda, 10 miles North-West of Satlama.	18. B. Misra, *Op. cit.* 19. *Ibid.* 20. *Ibid.*, H.C. Ray, *Op. cit.*, p, 399, fn. 4.
6.	"Gaintala Plates".	Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya I, 17th R.Y.	Bhaṭṭaputra Tiku, son of Madhusūdana of Vatsa *gotra*, Bhārgava-Cyavana-Apnuvan-Aurvva-Yamadagnī-*pravara* and *anu-pravara*, a student of Vahrca *śākhā*.	Ārāma-Vijaya Kaṭaka.	Mantrī Mahāsāndhivigrahī. Writer. Engraver.	Sādhāraṇa Rāṇaka Malladata Śrī Vaccha, son of Śaṅkīlla. Vaṇika Haradāsa, son of Śiulla.	Māgha *Śu.di*-13.	Ṛṣigrāma (D.V.) Saluvi (I.O.) Lapusodda (R.O.)	—	Nimunā	Madhyadeśa (I.O.) Kosaladeśa (R.O.)		
7.	"Sonepur Plates".	—do—	The grant was made in favour of the deities Sri Kesava & Sri Aditya bhattarakas to the merchants association called Sri Kamalavana Vanika sthana at Suvarnapura.	Ārāma.	Mantrī Mahāsāndhivigrahi. Mahākṣapaṭalikā. Engraver.	Sādhāraṇa Malladata. Āllava, son of Kailāśa. Haradāsa.	Āṣāḍha *Śu.di*-5.	Gottaikelā[21] (D.V.) Khadirupadra (I.O.) Suvarṇapura[22] (R.O.)	Luputurā[23]	—	Kosala.	21. Gotarkela, about three miles from the town of Sonepur. 22. Some as No. 1 above. 23. Same as No. 4 above.	21. B. Ch. Chhabra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXIII p. 248.
8.	"Chaudwar Plates".	—do— 31st R.Y.	Bhatta · Sri Mahattama Sadharana, son of Sobhana of Bharadvaja *gotra*, Varhaspatya-Angirasa *pravara*, a student of Vajasaneya *śākhā*.	Ārāma-Kaṭaka.	Mantrītilaka & Mantrī Mahāsāndhivigrahī. Kāyastha. Engraver. Received by	Sādhāraṇa Rāṇaka Malladatta. Mahuka, son of Priyaṅkarāditya. Māhava, son of Vasu. Puṇḍarikākṣa.	Mārgaśīra *Śu.di*-13.	Turvuna (R.O.) Renḍā[24] (D.V.) Alanḍa[25] (D.V.)	—	Pova[26]	Kosalo (R.O.) Ṭakāri (I.O.)	24. Renda, 6 miles east of Bolangir. 25. Alauda, 3 miles east of Bolangir. 26. Same as No. 8 above.	24. B. Misra, *Op. cit.*, Hiralal *Op. cit.*; p. 199. 25. *Ibid.*
9.	"Chaudwar Plates".	—do—	—do—	Ārāma-Kaṭaka.	Same as above.	Same as above.	—do—	Tulenḍa[27] (D.V.)	—	Sanḍāna[28]	Kosala Ṭakāri[29] (I.O.)	27. (a) Jilunda (21°.54″ N, 85°.52″E) in Bolangir. (b) Tulandi, 5 miles north of Bolangir. 28. (a) Saranda in Bargarh Tahasil of Sambalpur district. (b) Probably Sonda, 11 mites east of Sonepur. 29. Possibly the one, 16 miles North-West of Gaya.	27. (a) B. Misra, *Op. cit.*, pp. 68-69. (He reads Julendā) (b) Hiralal, *Op. cit.* 28. (a) B. Misra, *Op. cit.* (b) Hiralal, *Op. cit.* 29. *Ibid.*
10.	"Chaudwar Plates".	—do—	—do—	Ārāma-Kaṭaka:	Same above as.	Same as above.	—do—	Aṅkigrāma[30] (D.V.)	Tulkumvakhaṇḍa.[31]	—	—do—	30. Harigaon (21°.6″ N, 83°.6″ E) in Bolangir district.	30. B. Misra, *Op. cit.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
11.	"Kalibhana Plates".	—do— 34th R.Y.	Bhaṭṭaputra Deva, son of Gāṅgeya and grandson of Arjuna of Kāśyapa *gotra*, Kāśyapa - Vatsa - Naidhruva *pravara* and a student of Ṛg *Veda*.	Suvarṇapura.	Mantrītilaka Mahāsāndhi-vigrahī. Engravar.	Sādhāraṇa Rāṇaka Dhāradatta. Iyoka, son of Yapa.	Āśvina *Va-di*-8.	Muktāvatī (I.O.) Añjini (R.O.) Konnapillā (D.V.) Sadākaṭaka (presently residing at)	—	Tokkāra[32]	Śrāvasti[33] (I.O.) Kosala deśa	31. Turum on the Mahānadi, 27 miles south of Sambalpur. 32. Modern Tukra, about 14 miles to the east of Bargarh town. 33. In Oudh, round about present Sahat Mahat.	31. *Ibid.*, Hiralal, *Op. cit.* 32. D.C. Sircar, & P.C. Rath, *I.H.O.*, Vol. XX, p. 246. 33. Hiralal, *Op. cit.*, p. 200.
12.	"Degaon Plates".	Mugdhagondala-deva of Rāṣṭrakuta family hailing from Liāṭolora during Janamajaya I's reign.	Bhuvanāga, son of Nārāyaṇa Dāśa and Grandson of Bhavanāga, of Kauṇḍīnya *gotra*, Vaśiṣṭha *pravara*, Mitra-Varuṇa *anu-pravara* and a student of Kānva *śākhā*.	Śūkara Kaṭaka?	Sāndhivigrahi & Writer. Engraver	Challāka Saṅgrāma, son of Rāyaṇa Ojhā.	Puṣya *Śu-di*-14.	Kiraṅkolā (D.V.) Antarāla[35] (R.O.)	—	Telā-taṭa[36]	Gauda (I.O.) Parakula *maṇḍala* (Ruler of)	34. Latur in. 35. Antarada (83°.40″ N' 20°.42″ E) adjacent to the village Degaon, the find spot of the plates in Bolangir dist. 36. See below.	(The records also refer to Kāñcī, Kāmarūpa, Samatāṭa, Kuntala, Madhyadeśa as places won by the king)
13.	"Orissa State Museum Plates".	Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti I, 4th R.Y.	Śrī Kākos, son of Madhu and grandson of Bhaṭṭa-putra-Dāmodara, of Kāuśika *gotra* Tri-ṛṣi-*pravara*.	Vinītapura[37]	Mahāsāndhi-vigrahī. Mahākṣapaṭalika. Engraver.	Rāṇaka Śrī Cchichaṭeśvara Sāntināga. Panaka.	Kārttika *Śu-di*-5.	Kuḍukulo khanḍa-kṣetra (D.V.) (part of the village). Likhaḍīya (I.O.) Sadākaṭaka (R.O.)	—	Gaṇḍitama	Oḍra *deśa*. Śrāvastī (I.O.)	37. Sinka (20°.1″ N, 83°.48″ E) in Bolangir district on Mahānadī.	37. B. Misra, *Op. cit.*. Hiralal *Op. cit.*, p. 199.
14.	"Patna Museum Plates".	—do— 8th R.Y.	Kāmadeva, son of Narasimha and grandson of Harsa, of Kāśyapa *gotra*, Kāśyapa-Vatsa-Naidhruva *pravara*, and a student of Mādhyandīna *śākhā* of Vājasanaya *caraṇa*.	—do—	Mahāsāndhi-vigrahī. Engraver Vijñanī	Rāṇaka Dhāradatta Ucchavanāga, son of Āllava. Mādhava, son of Vāsu.	Mārgaśīra *Su-di*-15.	Kuḍukulo Tājakajja[38] (D.V.) Madhvila (I.O.) Jalajaḍḍa[39] (R.O.)	—	Sānula[40]	Kosala deśa.	38. Talagaja (20°.39″ N, 83°.38″ E), 10 miles S.E. of Bolangir. 39. Jalajado near Talagaja. 40. (a) Somora (20°.30″ N, 83°.23″ E). (b) Soinnula, 20 miles south of Bolangir.	38. *Ibid.*, p. 200; B. Misra. *Op. cit.* 39. —do— 40. (a) B. Misra, *Op. cit.* (b) Hiralal, *Op. cit.*
15.	"Cuttack Plates".	Mahāśivagupta I, Yayāti I, 9th R.Y.	Śaṅkhapāṇī, son of Dinakara and grandson of Ananta, of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Aṅgīrasa-Bhāradvāja-Vārhaspatya *pravara*, and a student of Chandoga-Kauthuma *śākhā*.	Vinītapura.	Mahāsāndhi-vigrahī Vijñānī	Cchichaṭeśvara Mādhava.	Jyeṣṭha *Su-di*-13.	Caṇḍa *grāma*[41] (D.V.) Śrī Valla *grāma*[43] Takkāra (R.O. ?) Śrī Śilābhañja Pāṭi (R.O.)	—	Māraḍā[42]	Dakṣina-Tosala Madhya *deśa* (I.O.) Oḍra *deśa*.	41. Candagan (20°.17″ N, 86°.8″ E), 32 miles South East of Cuttack. 42. Barada (20°.7″ N, 80°.1″ E) or Marada Hariharapura in Cuttack district. 43. Probably Bilgrama, 20 miles from Ayodhya.	41. B. Misra, *Op. cit.* 42. *Ibid.* 43. Hiralal, *Op. cit.*, p. 199.
16.	"Nibinna Charter".	—do— 15th R.Y.	Puṇḍarīka Śarmā Dīkṣita, son of Nārāyana Śarmā and grandson of Uhlāsa Śarma, of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Aṅgīrasa-Vārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja *pravara*.	—do—	Mahāsāndhi-vigrahī Mahākṣapa-ṭalika Tathākara (brazier)	Rānaka Dhāradatta. Ucchavanāga, son of Āllava-nāga. Panāka.	Mārgaśīra *Su-di*-13.	Nivinḍā[44] or Nivinnā Bhaṭṭa-pāroli (I.O.) Maramaṇḍā (R.O.)	—	Uttarāpali (Dt. ?)	Kosala *deśa* Gandhaṭa-pāṭi maṇḍala[44a].	44. (i) Libina (20°:58″, 83°.18″ E) in Bargarh Tahasil (ii) Nibinna, the find spot of the charter in Bolangir district. 44a. Identified with Gandharāvaḍi, which in turn has been identified with Gandharadi, 12 miles from Baud in the Phulabani dist.	44. (i) B. Misra, *Op. cit.* (ii) B.C. Mazumdar, *E.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 93 & 95-98. 44a. K.C. Panigrahi, *C.B.K.S.O.* p. 32, fn. 47 (a); *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 148.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
17.	"Patna Plate"	—do— 24th R.Y.	Bhaṭṭa Mahodadhī, son of Siddheśvara and grandson of Parameśvara, of Kauśīka *gotra*, Davarāṭa-Audala-Viśvāmitra-*pravara*, and a student of Gautama *śākhā*.	Yayātinagara[45]	Mahāsāndhivigrahi. Kāyastha Vindhāṇī (engraver)	Rāṇaka Dhāradatta. Tathāgata Vāsuka	Āṣādha *Śu-di*. 5.	Delāḍeli[46] (D.V) Kāśīli (I.O.) Antaraḍi[47] (R.O.)	—	Telā *taṭa*[48] Lāvaḍā[49]	Kosala *deśa* Śrāvastī *maṇḍala* (I.O.)	45. Apparently another name of Vinītapura. 46. Dedil (20.° 22 "N, 83°. 21" E) a few miles from the Tal in Bolangir district. 47. Antarida in Bolangir district. 48. District on the bank of Tel river, a tributary of Mahānadī. 49. Lebda? 48 miles S-W of Blangir.	45. *Hiralal*, *Op.cit*. p. 200. 46. B. Misra, *Op.cit*. 47. *Ibid*. 48. *Ibid*. 49. Hiralal, *Op.cit*., p. 201.
18.	"Patna Platas".	—do—, 28th R.Y.	Same as above.	—do—	Mahāsāndhivigrahī. Kāyastha. Vindhāṇī.	Siṅghadatta. Surya Sena Madhumathana.	Bhādrapada. *Śu.di*. 5.	Luturumā[50] (D.V.) Kāśīli (I.O.) Antarāḍi (R.O.)	Sannavati (town?)	Telā *taṭa* Lāvaḍā.	Śrāvastī *maṇḍala* (I.O.)	50. Letar (20.° "N, 82°50"E) in Kalahandi about 14 miles north of the Tel.	50. B. Misra, *Op.cit*., pp. 70-71.
19.	"Cuttack Plates".	Mahābhavagupta II, Bhīmaratha, 3rd R.Y.	Rāṇaka Śrī Rāccho, son of Bhaṭṭa Vaśiṣṭha & grandson of Bhaṭṭa Parameśvara, of Kauśīka *gotra*, and Viśvāmitra-Devarāṭa-Audala *pravara* and belonging to the Kauthuma *caraṇa* and Chandoga *śākhā*.	—do—	Sāndhivigrahī. Kāyastha. Vijñānī	Siṅghadatta Maṅgaladatta Madhumalla.	Mārgaśīra *Śu. di*-3. Donation was made on a Solar eclipse day.	Gaudasiminili [51] (D.V.) Kāśīli (I.O.) Siṅgoa[52] (R.O.)	—	Sakhangad-Yanha *viṣaya* Devībhoga *viṣaya*.	Kosala Śrāvastī *maṇḍala* (I.O.)	51. Gondama or Gaisama (21°.16"N, 83°.40" E) in Bargarh Tahasil. 52. Probably singhar in the Khariar Zamindari in the extreme south of Raipur district (now in M.P.). 53. Deobhog in the Bindra Nawagarh Zamindari in the extreme south of Raipur district.	51. *Ibid*. 52. Hiralal, *Op.cit*., p. 200. 53. *Ibid*.
20.	"Mahakosala Historical Society Plates".	Mahābhavaguptarājadeva, 11th R.Y.	Son of Cakradhara of Kaniñjala *gotra*, Ekarṣi-Vaiśiṣṭha *pravara* and Maitra-yaniya *śākhā*.	Kiśarakallā[54]	Mahāsāndhivigrahi.	Rudradatta, son of Devadatta.	Bhādrapada *Va. di*. 6. on the occasion of Siṁha-Saṁkrānti.	Pātiliñjiragrāma[55] (D.V.) Ullakheta (R.D.) Madhurā (I.O.)	—	—	Madhya deśa (I.O.) Pṛthurā-[56] *bhukti*.	54. Kasarakalla, 6 miles to the east of Bolangir. 55. Linjira village in Sarangarh. 56. Pṛthura in Padmapur subdivision of Sambalpur district.	54. L.P. Pandeya, *E.I.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 135-8 ff: S.N. Rajaguru *I.O.*, Vol. IV, p. 212. 55. *Ibid*. 56. *Ibid*.
21.	"Kudopali Plates"	Rāṇaka Śrī Puṅja of Māṭhara family during the reign of Mahābhavaguptarāja deva, 13th R.Y.	Nārāyaṇa, son of Janārdana of Keuṇḍīnya *gotra*, Mitra-Varuṇa *pravara*.	Sāmaṇḍāpāṭi[57]	Writer.	Puraśreṣṭhī Purṇṇadatta, son of Śrī Kiraṇa of Loṇopura.	—	Loiśara *grāma*[59] (D.V.) Hastipāda	—	—	Sidaṇḍa[59] *maṇḍala*.	57. Bamra, locally called Bamanda in Sundargarh district of present Orissa. 58. Loisara in Bargarh Tahasil. 59. Saranda in Bargarh Tahasil, 11 miles South West of Sambalpur.	57. B. Misra, *Op.cit*., pp. 70-71. 58. *Ibid*. 59. Hiralal, *Op.cit*., p. 201.
22.	"Khandapara Plates".	Mahāśivagupta II Dharmaratha, 11th R.Y.	Rāṇaka Śrī Abhimanyu, son of Vāsu and grandson of Dāmodara, of Kāśyapa *gotra* and Trayarṣeya *pravara*.	Yayātinagara.	Rājaguru Sāndhivigrahī Mahākṣapaṭalādhyakṣa & Mantrīvara writer. Vijnani (engravar)	Sahadeva Kumbhaṇḍipāla. Śrī Netradeva. Soliāṅgaka.	Phālguna *Va. di*. 3.	Bhilli *gramā* (D.V.)	Abhapara khanda.	Antaruda[60] visaya.		60. Antarodh *pragaṇā* of Puri district.	60. S.C. De, *O.H.R.J.*, Vol. XIII. p. 62; B. Misra, *Op.cit*˙, p. 16.
23.	"Banpur Plates"	Indraratha 6th R.Y.	For the offerings and the worship of the deity Śrī Khadirāvarṇṇī (vaṇī) bhaṭṭārikā	Yayātinagara.	Bandhivigrahi Mahaksapatali (writer) Vijnani (Engraver)	Viśvarādhi (?) Amṛta Candra Heruka	Kārttika *Śu*. *di*-2	Lapukhamba *grāma* (D.V.)	Khalla *khaṇḍa*.	Thoraṇa *viṣaya*.	Kaṅgoda *maṇḍala*.		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
24.	"Maranjamura Charter" or "Jatesinga & Dungri Plates"	Mahāśivagupta-III, Yayāti II, 3rd R.Y.	Svaradoyī Śrī Yaśakara, son of Sāntikara and grandson of Nārāyaṇa, of Parāśara *gotra*, Ātreya *pravara*, and a student of the Kānva *śākhā* of Yajur *Veda*.	Suvarṇapura.	Sandhivigrahi.	Rāṇaka Rudradatta, son of Simhadatta's brother and grandson of Harṣadatta.	Vaiśākha *Śu.di*. 5.	Hasti *grāma* (I.O.) Vṛhad Bhuśāyī *grāma* (D.V.) Maranjamura (D.V.)	Santovardā Khaṇḍa.	Bhraṇḍa	Madhyadeśa (I.O.) Kosala Gandhara-[61] vāḍi *maṇḍala*.	61. Same as No. 44 (a) above.	
25.	"Narasimhapur Charter".	Mahābhavagupta IV, Udyotakeśarī 4th R.Y.	Śaṅkara Śarmaṇa and his brother Balabhadra Śarmaṇa, sons of Vāmana & grandsons of (Vaṭeśvara, of Gārga *gotra*, Trayarṣeya *pravara* and the students of Ṛg *Veda*.	Yayātinagara.	Mahāsāndhivigrahī Mahākṣapeṭalādhyakṣa. Suvarṇavithā Vijñānī (goldsmiths the engravers).	Rudradatta Śatamata Vāheru Maṅgāka.	Mārgaśīra *Va.di*. 10.	Palāśa (I.O.) Lovakaraḍā[62] (D.V.) Kontalaṇḍā[63] (D.V.)	Samsarava	—	Tīra bhukti (I.O.) Airāvaṭṭa[64] *maṇḍala*. Oḍra deśa Utkala Kosala.	62. Karada (20°.28″ N, 85°.14″ E) in Baramba. 63. Kantilo (20°.22″ N, 85°.14″ E) in Khandapara. 64. Ratagarh in Banki of Cuttack dist.	62. *Ibid*., pp. 72-73. 63. *Ibid*. 64. *Ibid*.
26.	"Samkhameri Grant".	—do— 4th R.Y.	Govinda Kara son of Ṛsikara and grandson of Śubhakara, of Kṛṣnātreya *gotra*, Trayarseya *pravara* and a student of Ṛg *Veda-saḍāṅga*.	—do—	—do—	—do—	—do—	Agarabāḍamula *grāma* (D.V.)	Kantaraḍā	—	Saṅgaṇa *maṇḍala* Utkala Kosala Madhyadeśa (I.O.)		
27.	"Single Plate from Mahada".	The reign of Udyotakeśarī, son of Caṇḍīhāra.	Bhaṭṭaputra Dharmapāla, son of Śavyasācī, of Jātukarṇa *gotra*, Vaśiṣṭha *pravara* and a student of Yajur *Veda*.	—do—	—	—	Lunar eclipse.	Comuṇḍa	Yamalāḍa	—	Madhyadeśa (I.O.)	65. Gunurdala (84°.0 E, 20°.6″ N) adjacent to village Mahada, the find spot of the plate.	
28.	"Sonepur Plates".	Kumāra Someśvaradeva, 1st R.Y.	Udayakara, son of Vidyākara, grandson of Jayakara, great grandson of Lakṣmīdhara, of Kumāra Hārita *gotra*, Pancārṣi *pravara* and a student of Mādhyandiṇa-Kānva *śākhā*.	Suvarṇapur.	Mahāsāndhivigrahī.	Rāṇaka-Nāyaka Śrī Mahīpatībhaṭṭa Śrī Aniruddha.	Māgha Purṇīmā.	Mahubalī (I.O.) Kamalapura[66] (R.O.) Atteṇdā[67] (D.V.) Varavuda (D.V.)	Kesalogā Gudhavāmala *khaṇḍakṣetra* and Kanhapura *khaṇḍakṣetra*.	Uttarāvalli.[68]	Śrāvastī-*maṇḍala* (I.O.) Roṅgedā *maṇḍala*.	66. May be a Sanskritisation of Kelga. 67. Achenda, 7 miles from Kelga in Bolangir district. 68. (a) Uttara-tīra division of Ex-Sonepur State. (b) Utrapali in ex-Patna State, now in Bolangir dist.	66. Sten Konow, *E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 238, fn. 2; Kamalpur in the Biramaharajapur Tahasil of Bolangir dist. from where inscription No. 31 of this chart was discovered. The donee of No. 31 (below) seems to have been connected with the family of the donee of this inscription. 67. B.C. Mazumdar, *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 237-42. 68. (a) *Ibid*. (b) B. Misra, *Op.cit*.
29.	"Single Kelge Plate".	—	Abhāvakara, son of Udayakara (Donee No. 1 of Sl. No. 28).	—	—	—	—	Kamalpura[69] (R.O.) Varavuḍa (D.V.)	Gudhvāmala *khaṇḍakṣetra* and Kanhapura *khaṇḍakṣetra*.	—	Śrāvastī *maṇḍala* (I.O.) Raṅgadā *maṇḍala*.	69. Same as No. 66 above.	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
30.	"Ratnagiri Charter".	Karṇṇarājadeva, 6th R.Y.	Rāṇī Karpūra Śrī, daughter of Mahārīmā Huṇa devī and grand-daughter of Udayamatī, of Kāśyapa *gotra* and Trayarṣaya *pravara*.	Yayātinagara.	Sāndhivigrahī Mahākṣapaṭali Writer Vijñanī attached to Svarṇṇavithī (Engraver attached to Goldsmith).	Kṛṣṇadeva Vīraschittalladeva. Khalenanda dāss. Śaṅkhuka.	Āśvina *Śu.di.* 12.	Saṅkoṇa[70] (D.V.)	Brāhmo-Aṣṭaviṁśa[71]	—	Uttara Tosalī Śrī Saloṇapura-mahāvihāra[72] (I.O.) Utkaladeśa.	70. Anikone, 3 miles from Ratnagiri. 71. The village Brahmapur recalls the first part of Brāhmo-Aṣṭaviṁśa. 72. Solampura (20°.52″ N, 86.°21″E) on the bank of Vaitarani in Bhadrak sub-division of Balasore district.	70. D. Mitra, *E.I.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 265 fn. 7. 71. *Ibid.* 72. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
31.	"Kamelpur Plates".	Rāṇaka Jayārṇava of the Mahārāṣṭra kula during the reign of Karṇṇadeva, 7th R.Y.	Paramakara, son of Rohaṇakara, grandson of Bhavakara and great grandson of Vidyākara of Hārita *gotra* and a student of Yajur *Veda*.	Yayātinagara	—	—	—	Vādakela (D.V.)	—	—	Kolada[73] *maṇḍala*. Madhyadeśa (I.O.)	73. Kolada, situated in the neighbourhood of Bhanjanagar in the Ganjam district.	73. K.C. Panigrahi, *J.O.H.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 2. The name of the find spot and the pedigree as well as the gotra of the donee would lead us to identify his grandfather Bhavakara with the donee No. 2, of the Sl. No. 28 above.

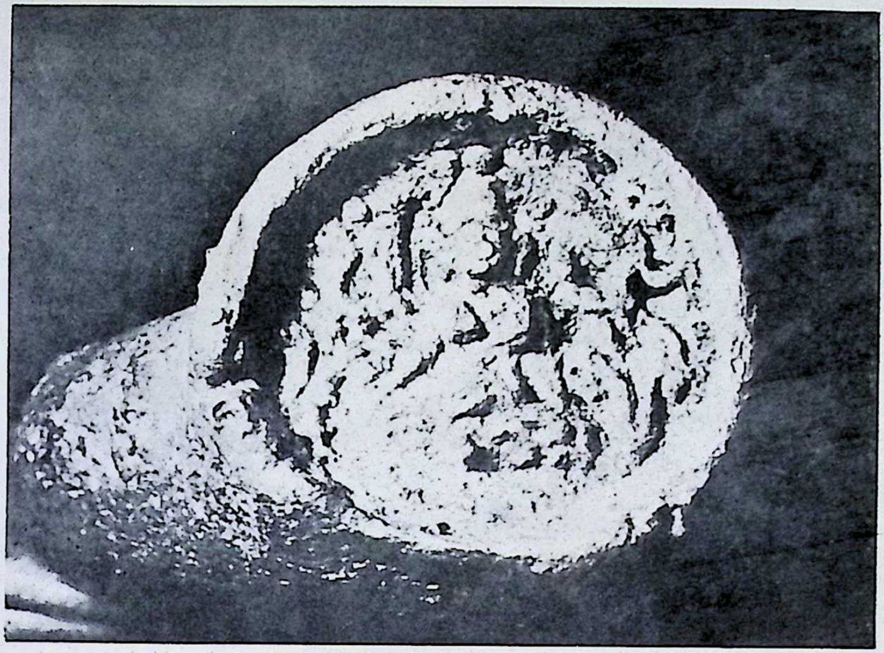

Plate 1. Seal of the Samkhameri Charter of Udyotakeśarīdeva

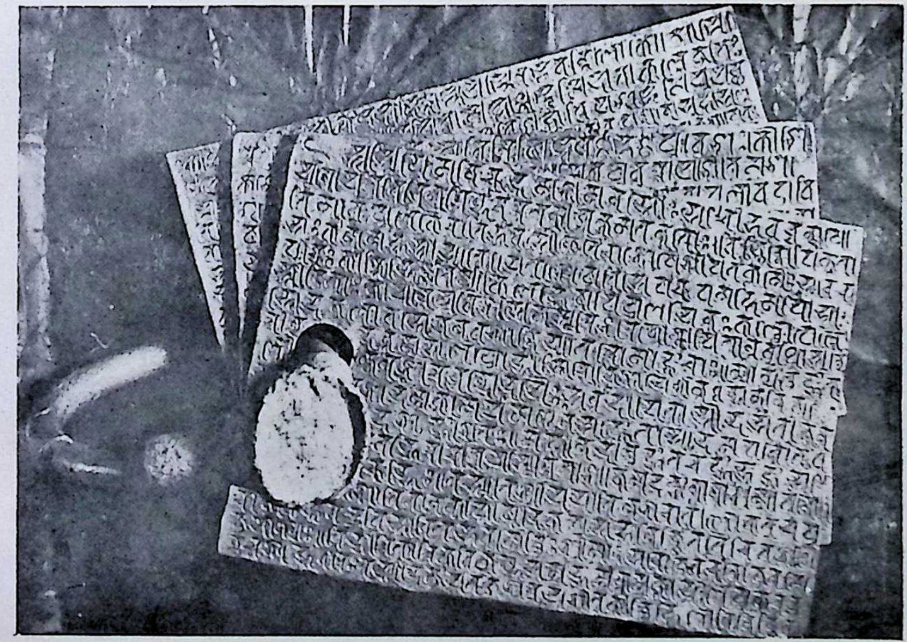

Plate 2. A Somavaṁśī Charter (Patna Plates of Mahāśivagupta yayāti. I. R.Y. 28)

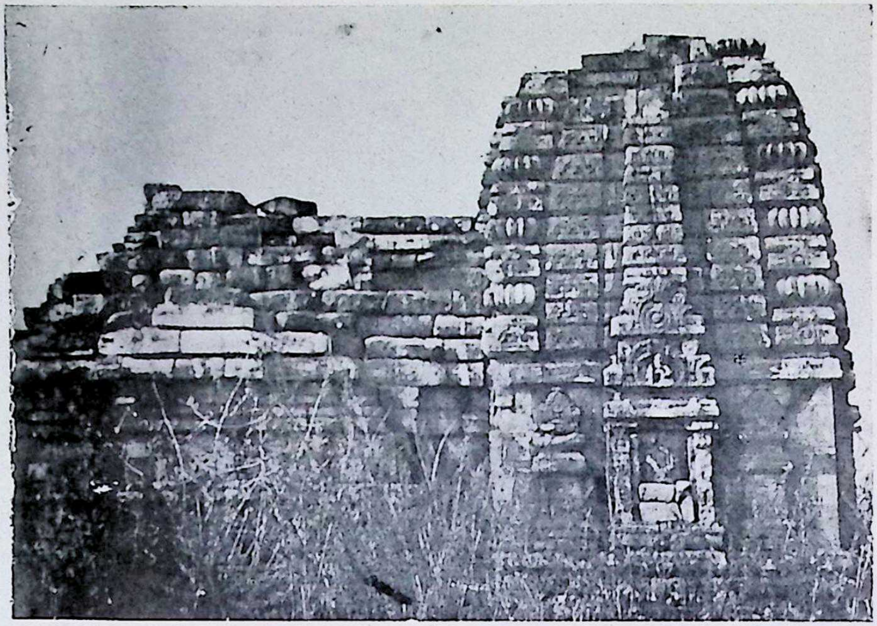

Plate 3. Paścimeśvara temple, Amangei, kandarpur, Cuttack.

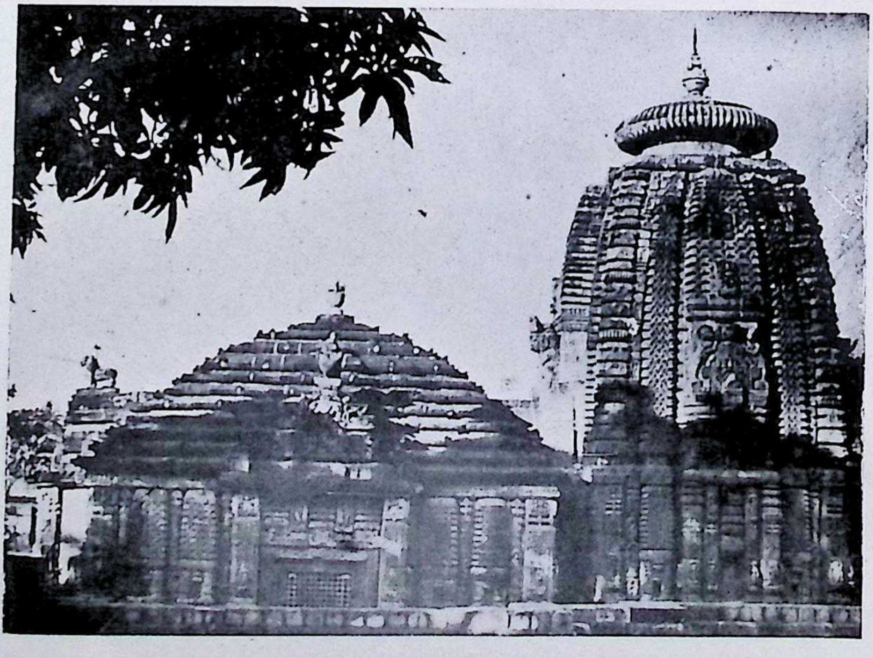

Plate 4. Mukteśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

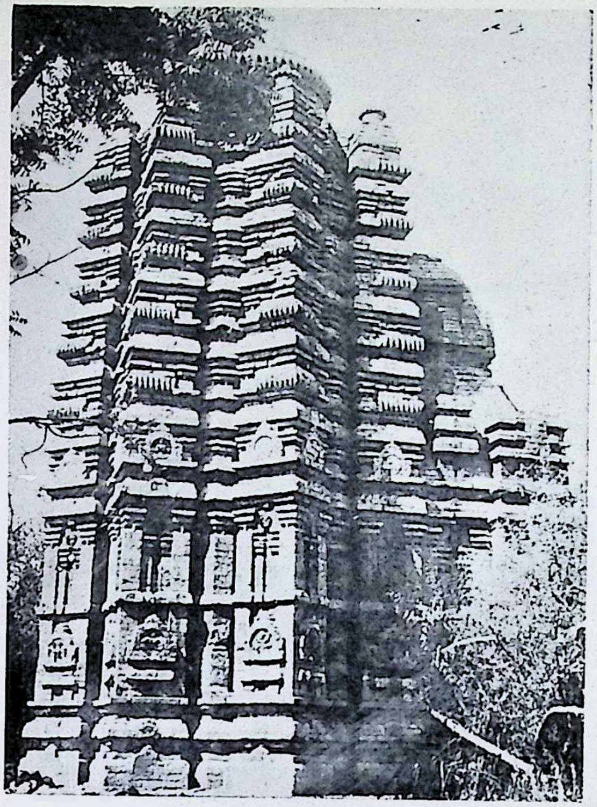

Plate 5. Pātāleśvara temple,
Budhikomna, kalanandi.

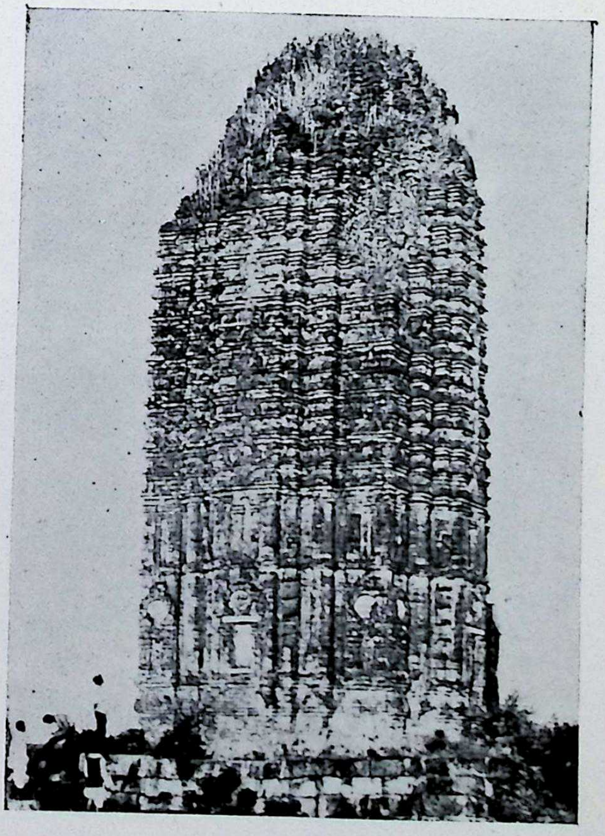

Plate 6. Indrālath (Visnu) temple,
Ranipur, Jharial, Bolangir.

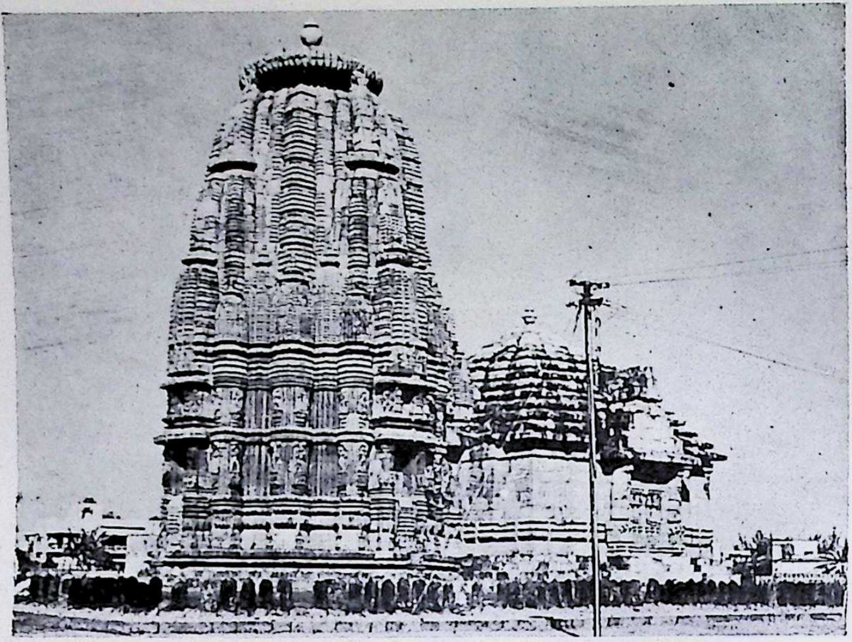

Plate 7. Rājārāṇī temple, Bhubaneswar.

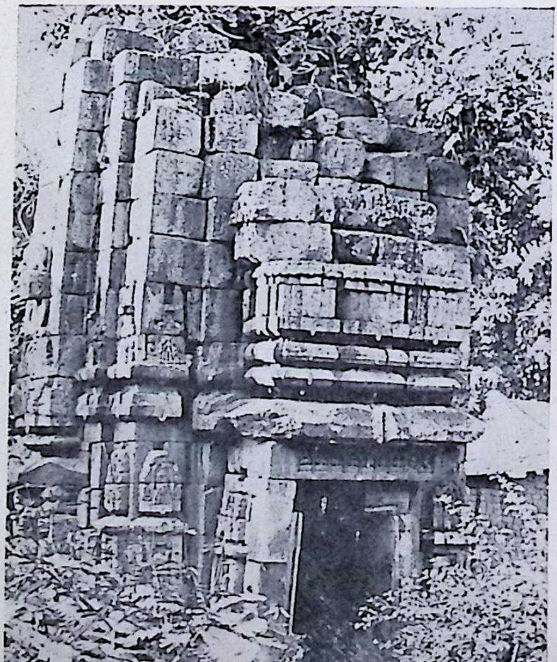

Plate 8. Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

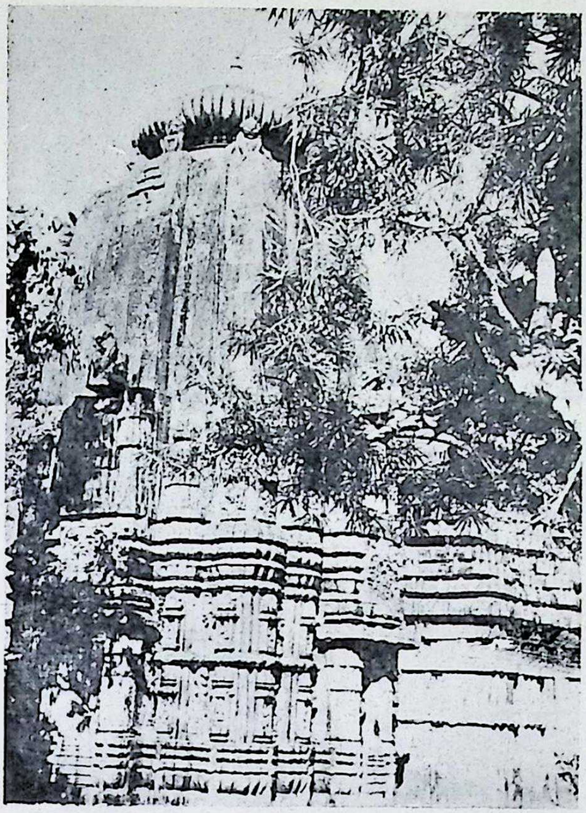

Plate 9. Brāhmeśvara temple, Beraboi, Puri.

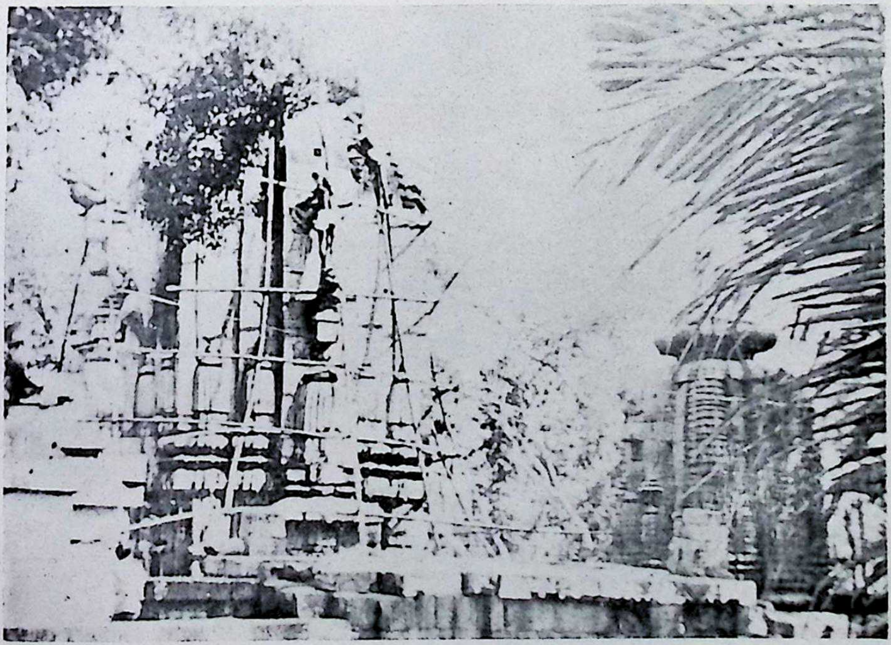

Plate 10. Somānatha temple, Ghoradiya, Puri.

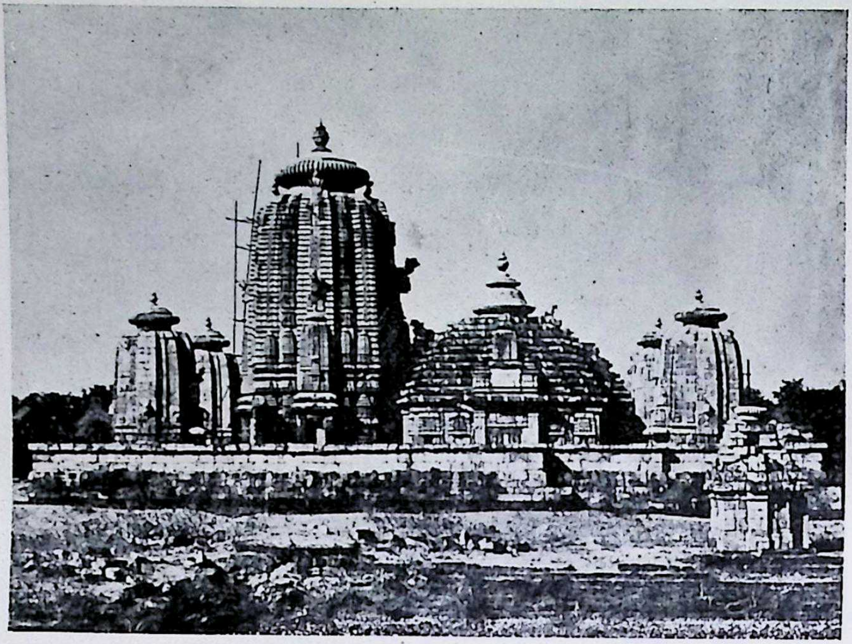

Plate 11. Brahmeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar, Puri.

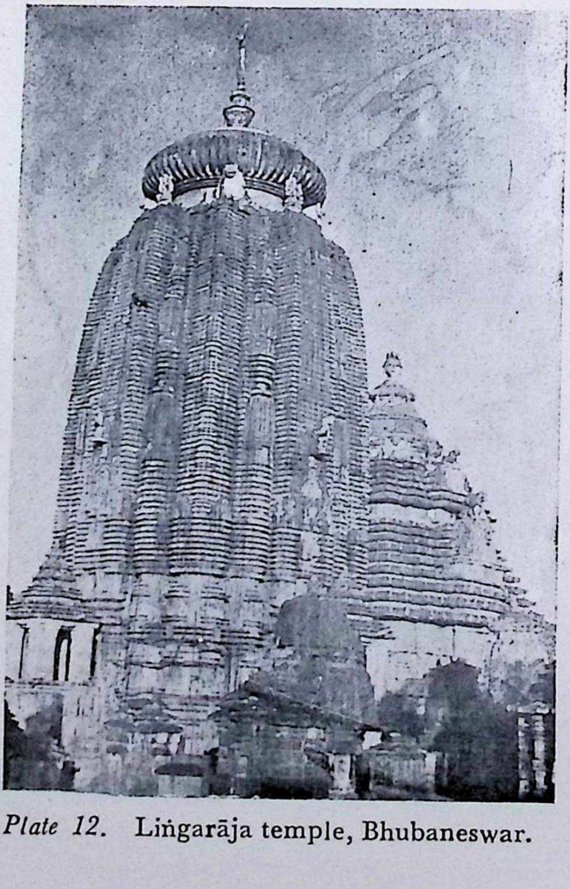

Plate 12. Liṅgarāja temple, Bhubaneswar.

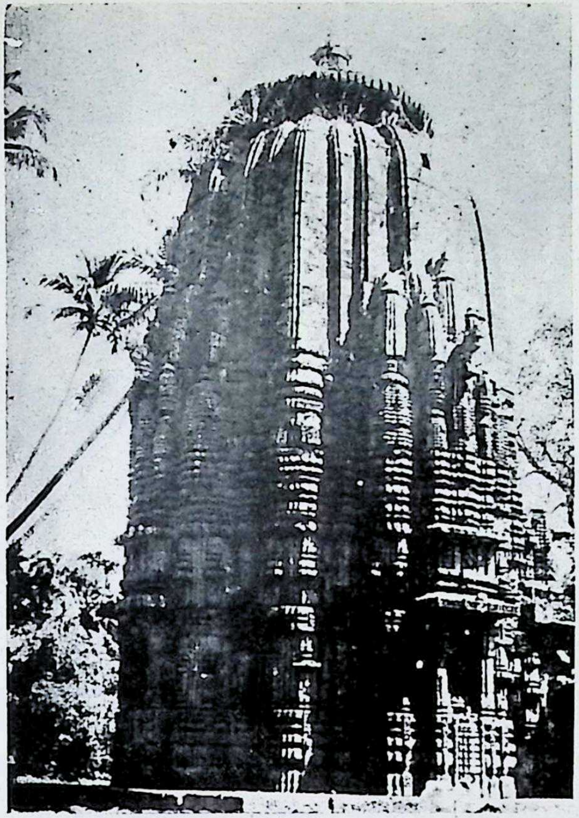

Plate 13. Khileśvara temple, Khellore, Puri.

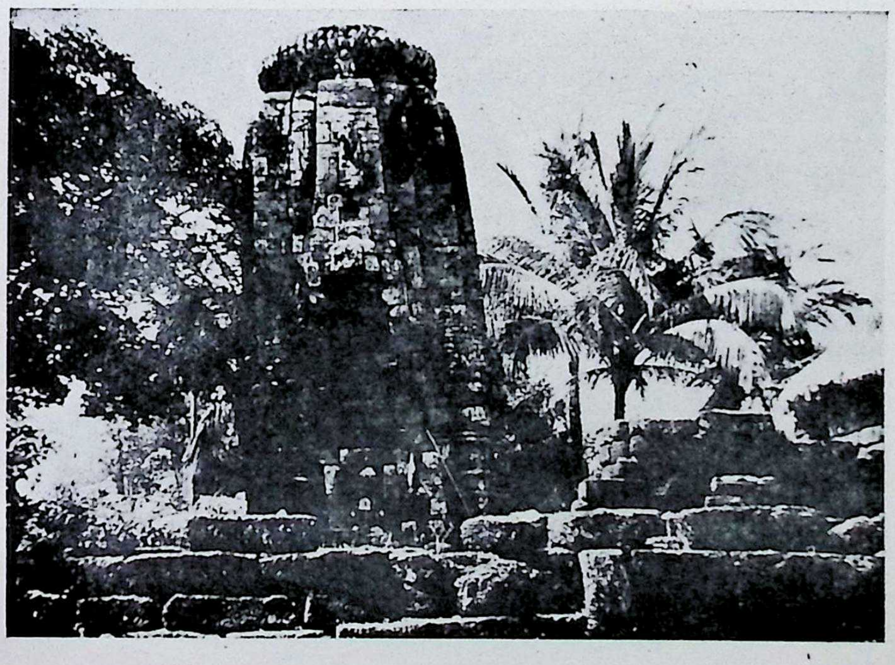

Plate 14. Jaleśvara temple, Golabai, Puri

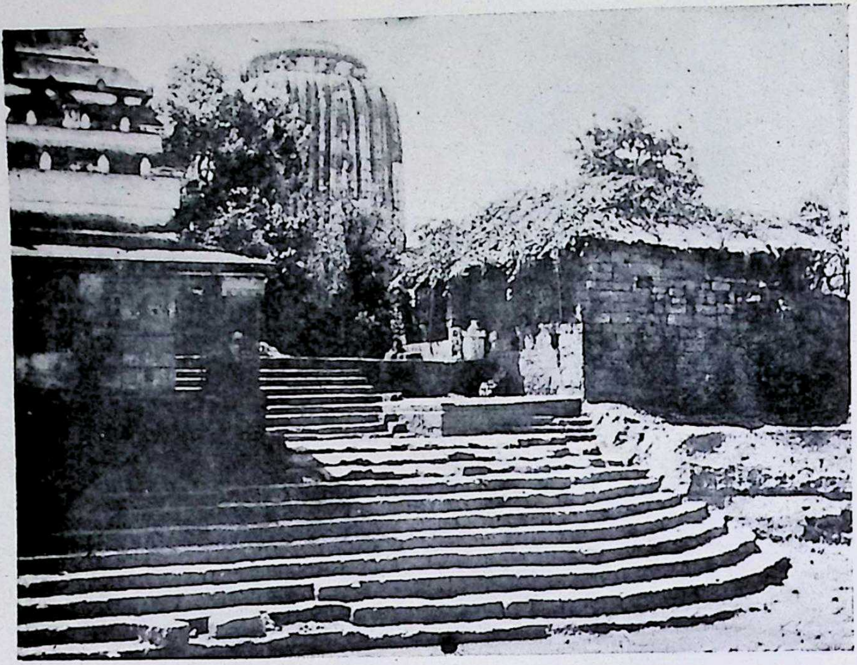

Plate 15. Daśāśvamedha Ghāta, Jajpur, Cuttack.

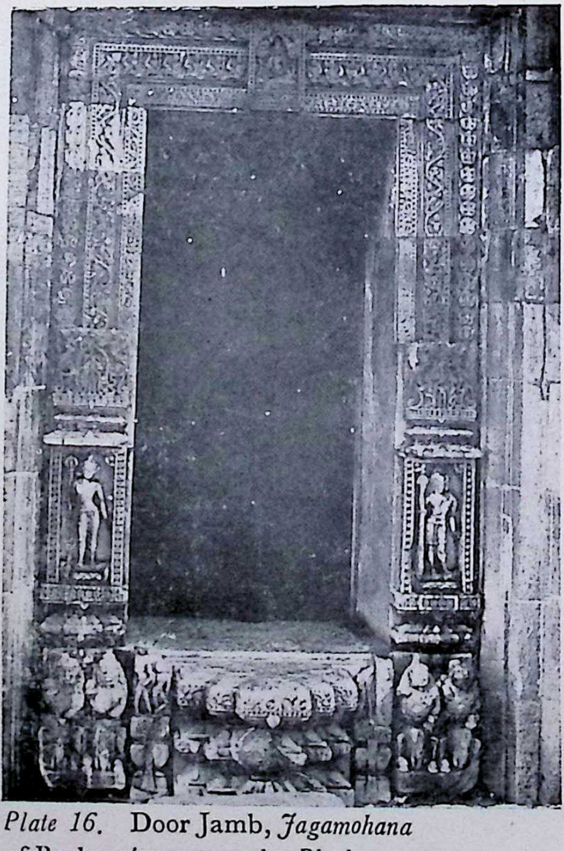

Plate 16. Door Jamb, *Jagamohana* of Brahmeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

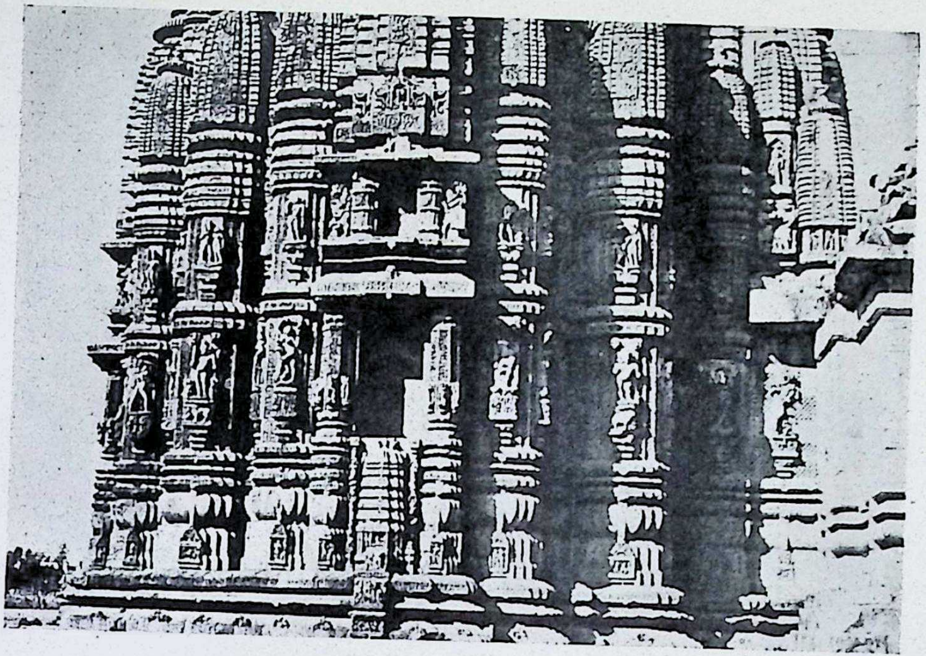

Plate 17. Details of *Bāḍa* and part of *Gaṇḍī Rājārānī* temple, Bhubaneswar.

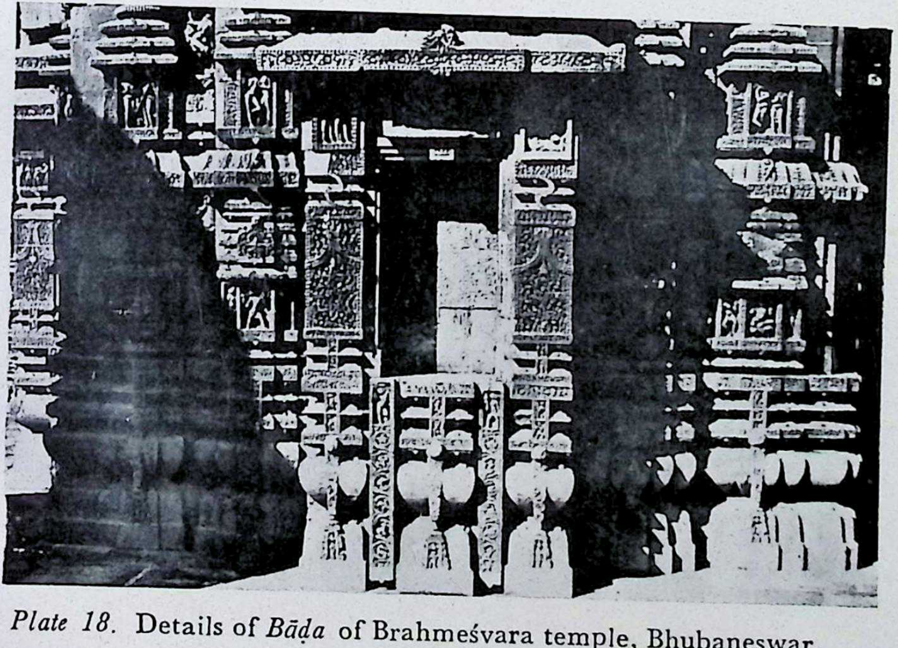

Plate 18. Details of *Bāḍa* of Brahmeśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

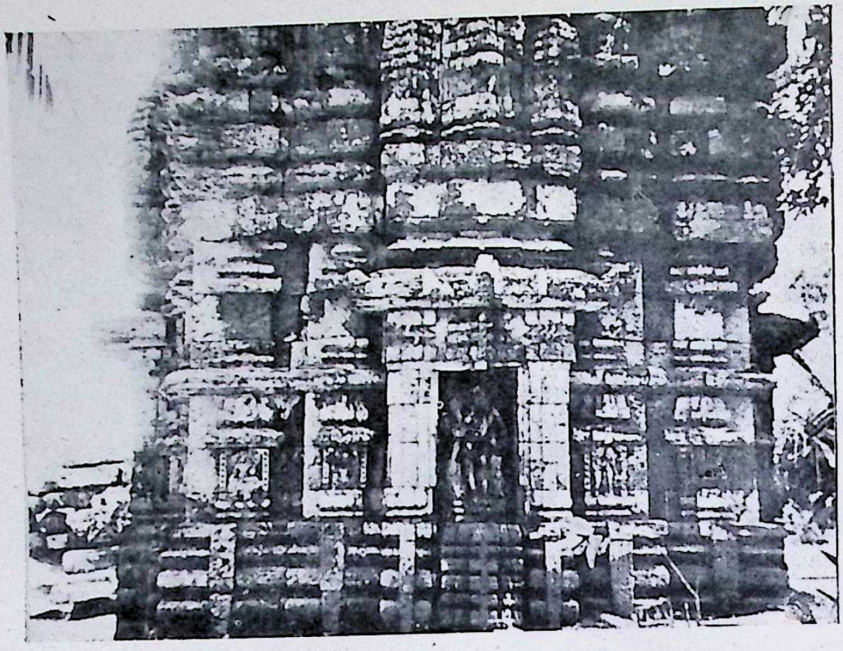

Plate 19. Details of *Bāḍa* and part of *Gānḍi*, Jaleśvara temple, Golabai.

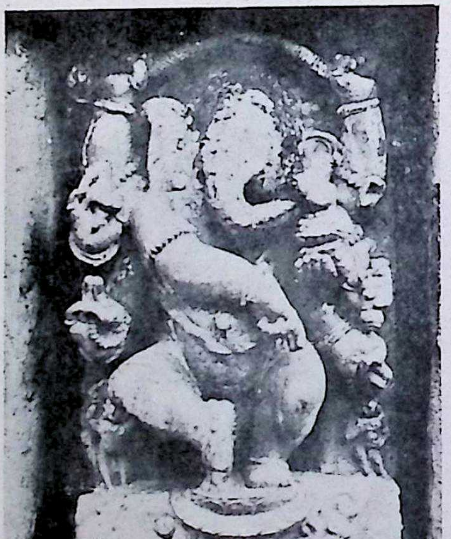

Plate 20. Dancing Gaṇeśa
Parahat, Cuttack.

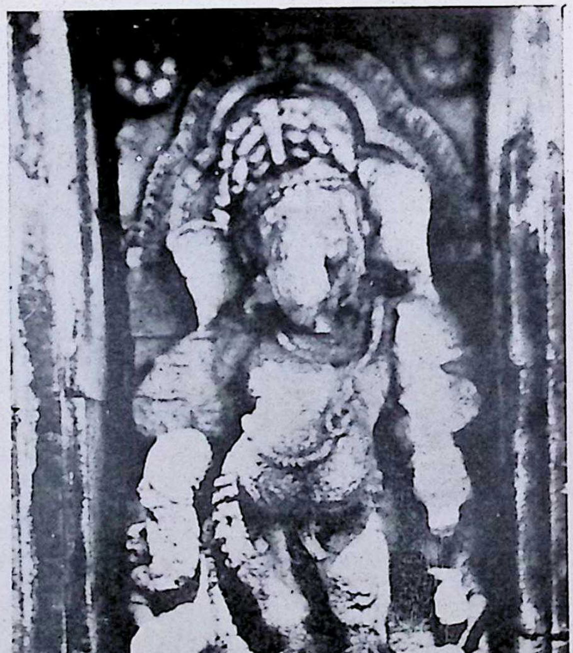

Plate 21. Gaṇeśa, Jaleśvara temple, Golabai.

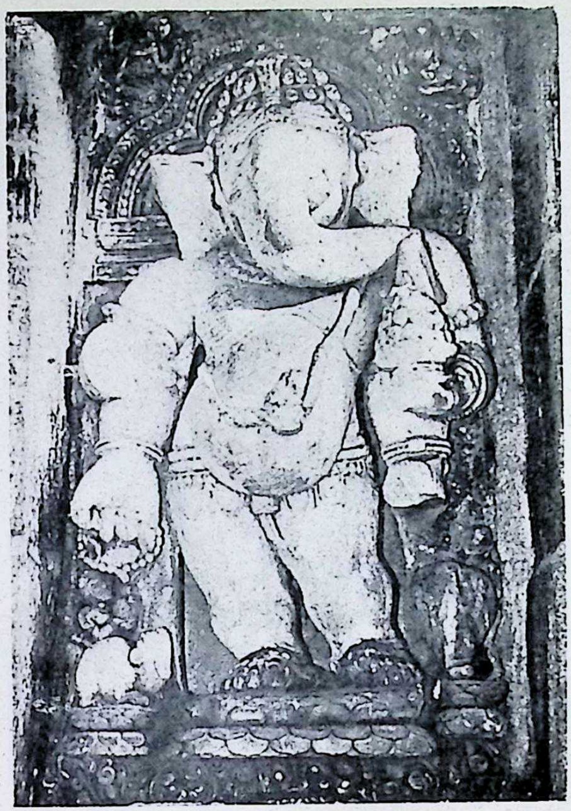

Plate 22. Gaṇeśa, Kedāreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

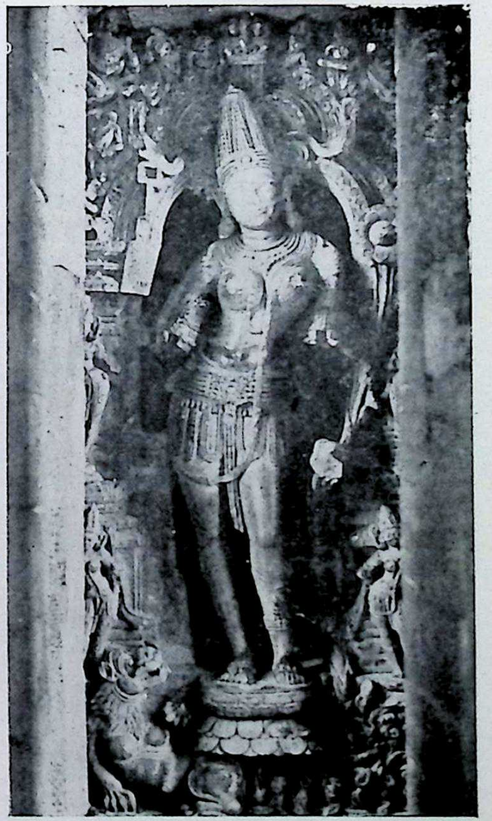

Plate 23. Pārvatī, Northern niche Liṅgarāja temple.

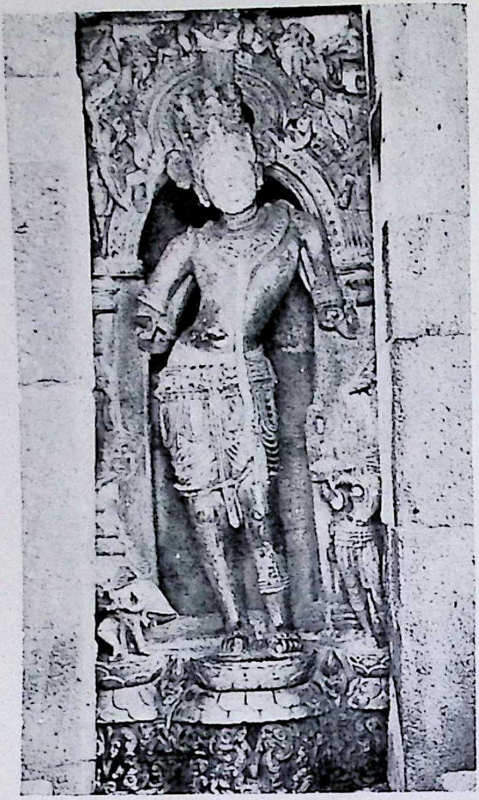

Plate 24. Kārtikeya, Western niche Liṅgarāja temple.

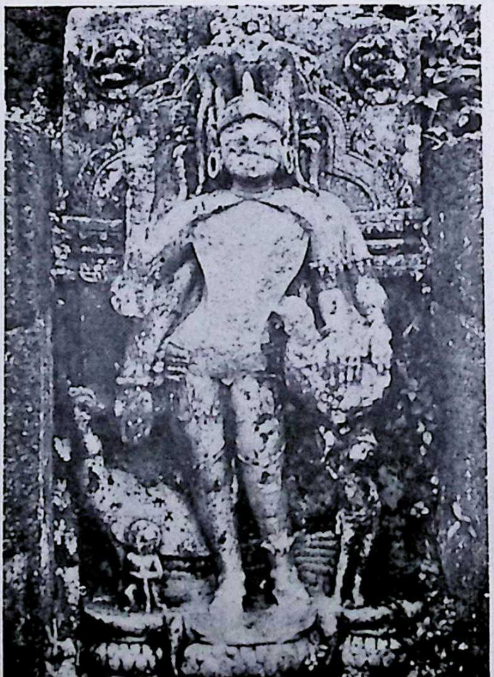

Plate 25. Kārtikeya, Agarhat, near Chaudwar, Cuttack.

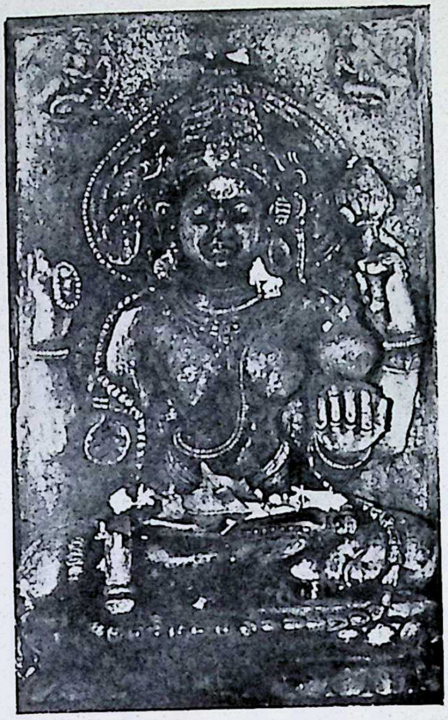

Plate 26. Ardhānārīśvara inside *Bhogamanḍapa*
Liṅgarāja temple.

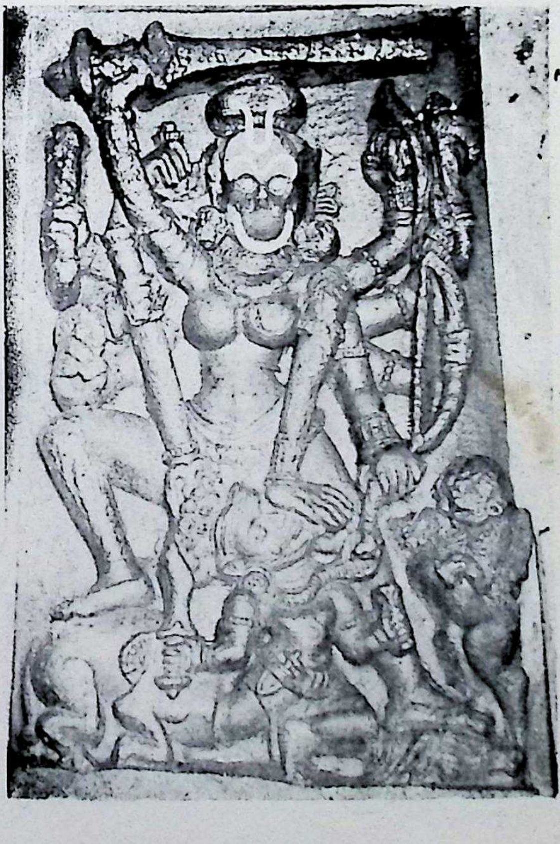

Plate 27. Mahiṣamardinī Durgā,
Grāmeśvara temple, Cuttak.

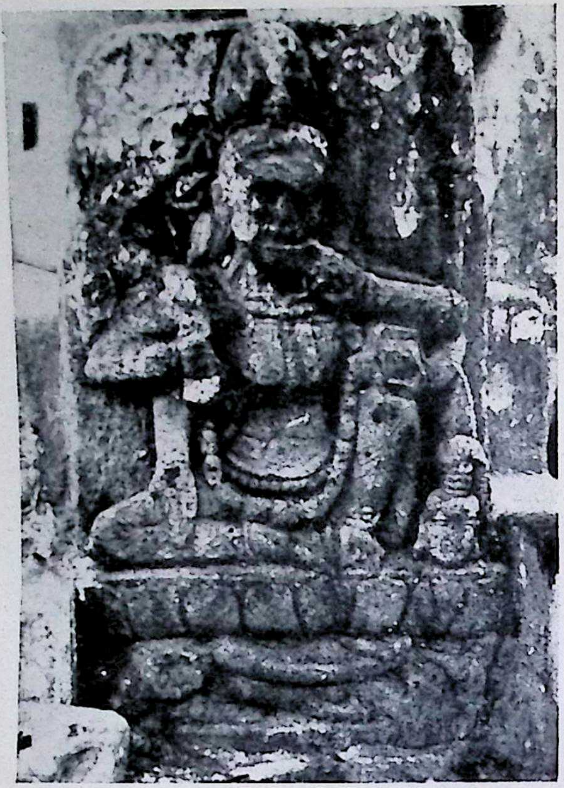

Plate 28. Cāmuṇḍā Mudgala, Puri.

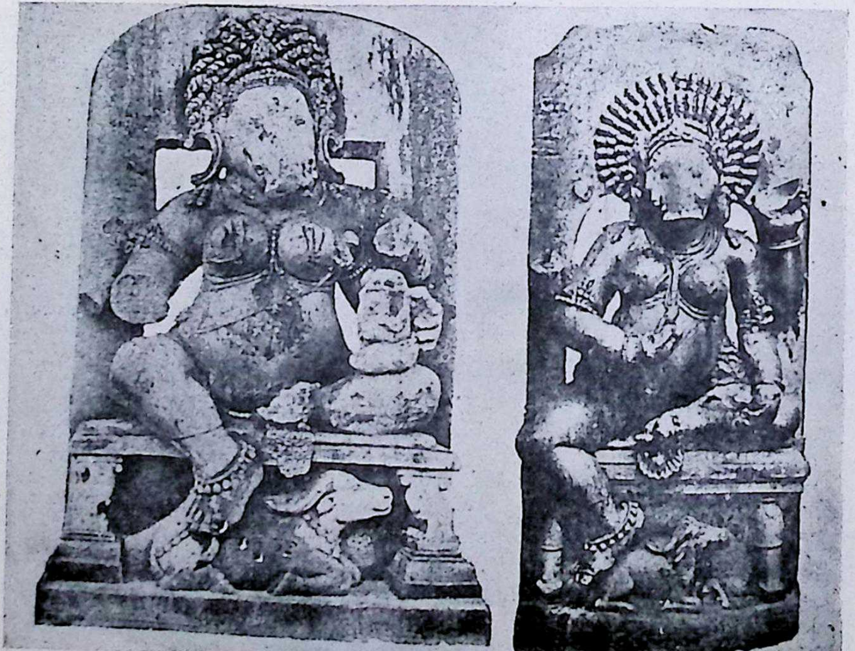

Plate 29. (a) Vārāhī, Jajpur (b) Vārāhi, Markaṇḍeśvara tank, Puri.

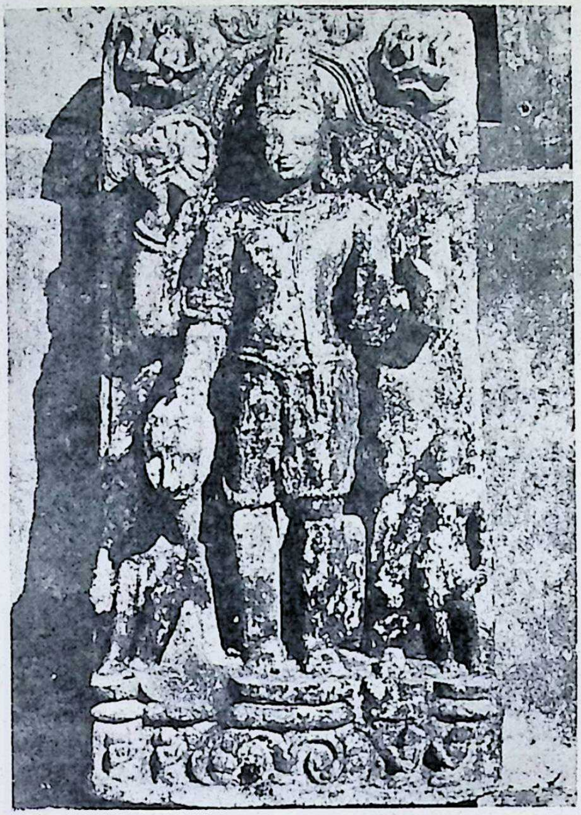

Plate 30. Viṣṇu Nibharana, Cuttack.

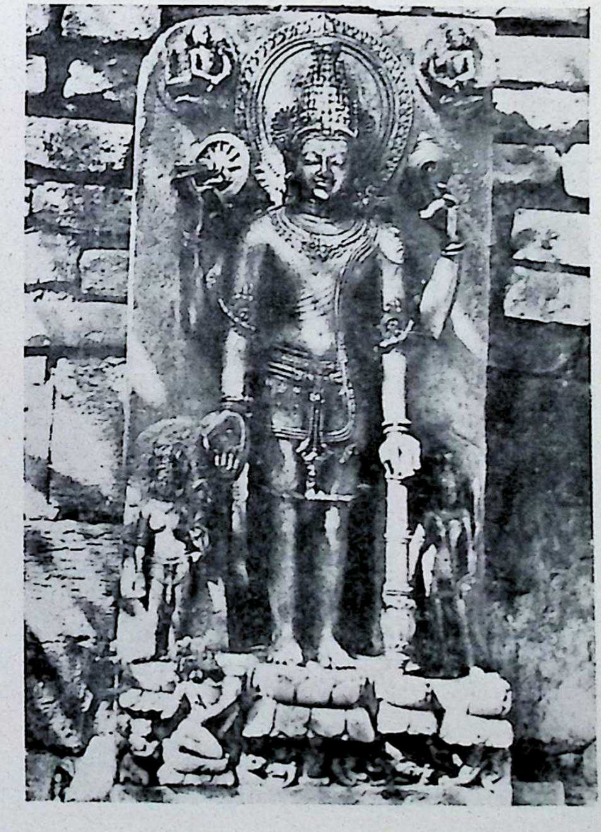

Plate 31. Viṣṇu Mudgala, Puri.

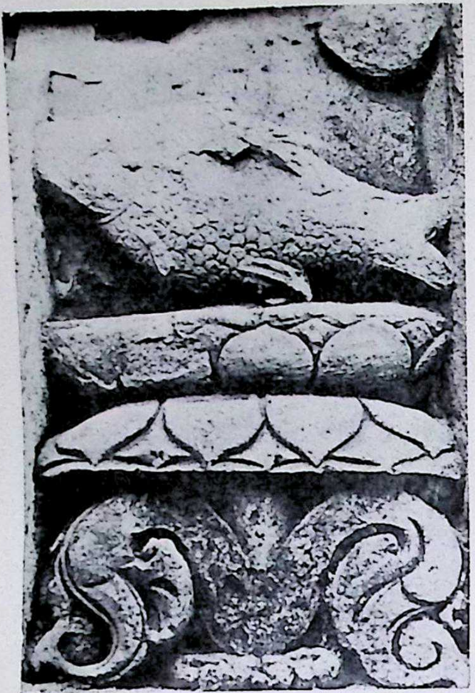

Plate 32. Matsya *Avātara* (Fish incarnation), Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

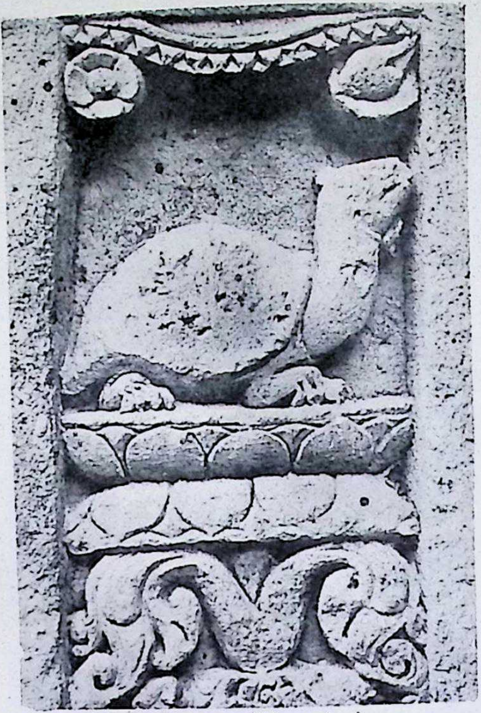

Plate 33. Kūrma (Tortoise) Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

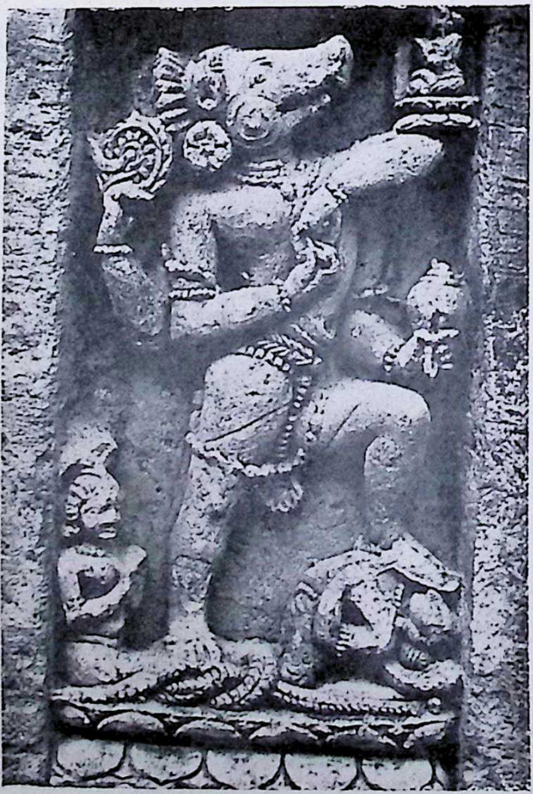

Plate 34. Varāha (Boar), Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

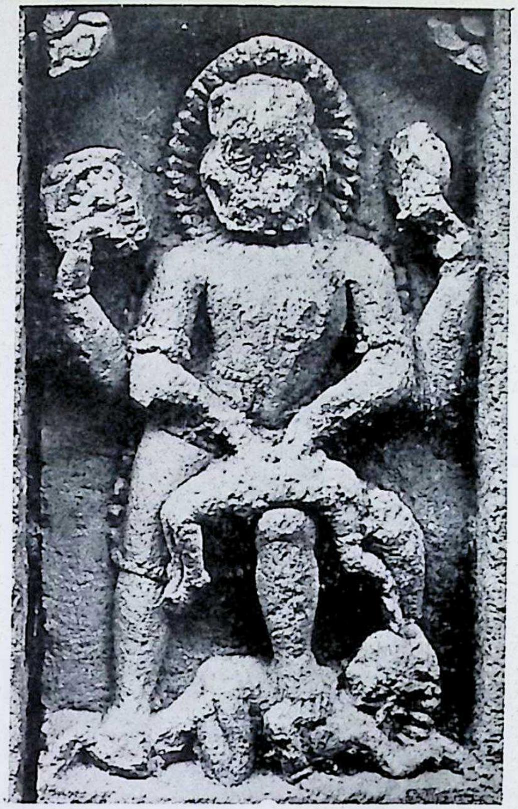

Plate 35. Narasiṁha (Man-lion), Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

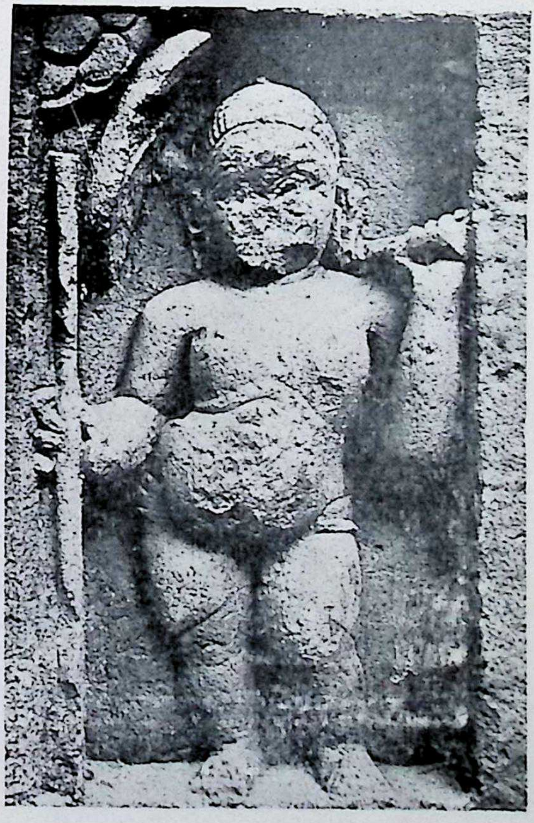

Plate 36. Vāmana (Dwarf), Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

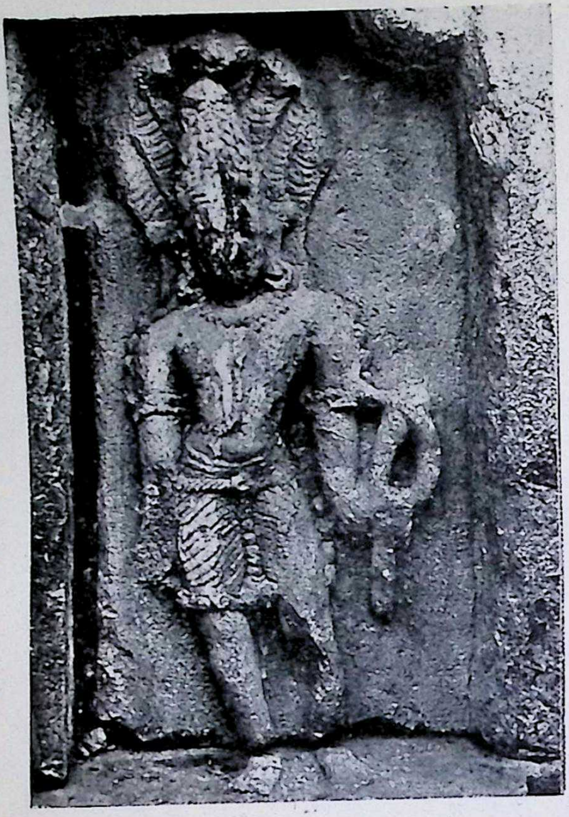

Plate 37. Balarāma, Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

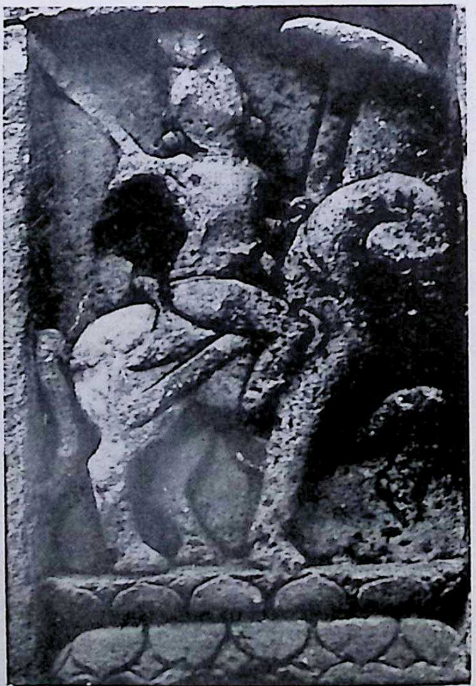

Plate 38. Kalkī, Maṇibhadreśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

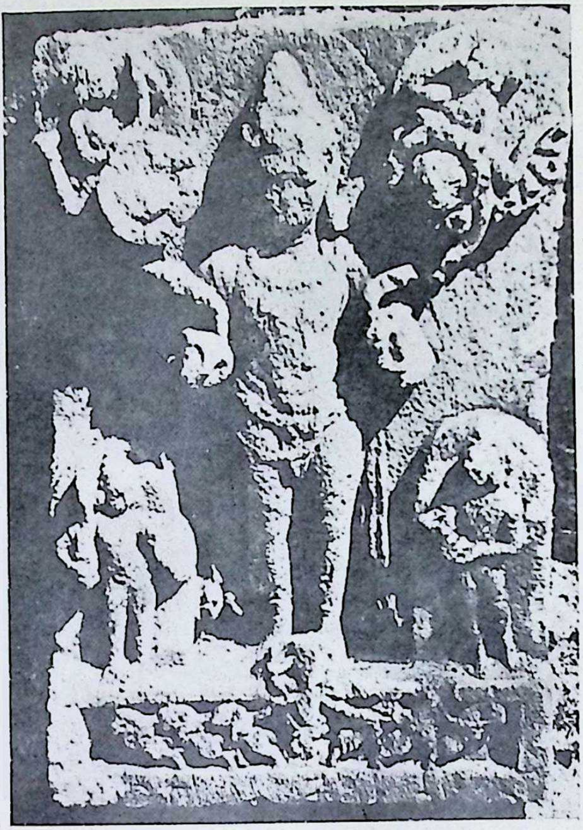

Plate 39. Sūrya, Golabai, Puri.

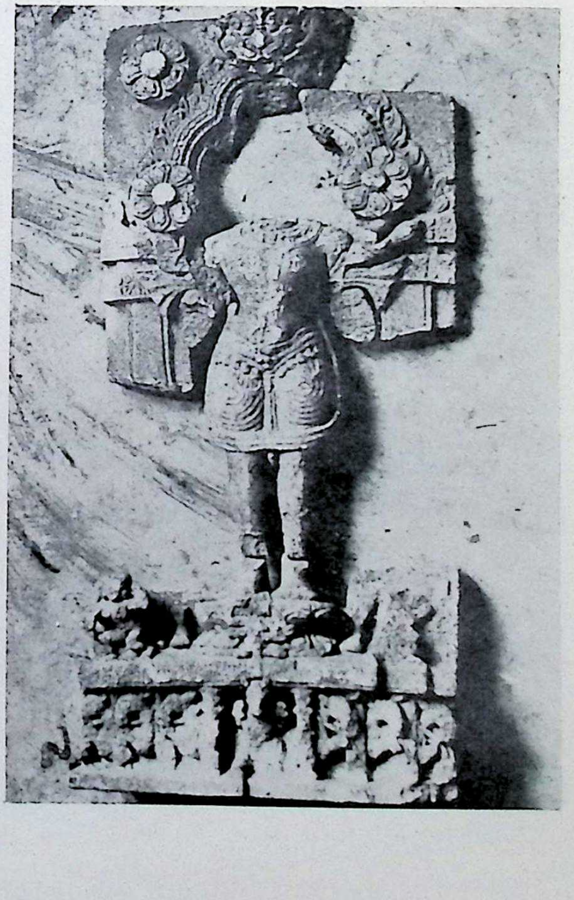

Plate 40. Sūry from Gandibedha.

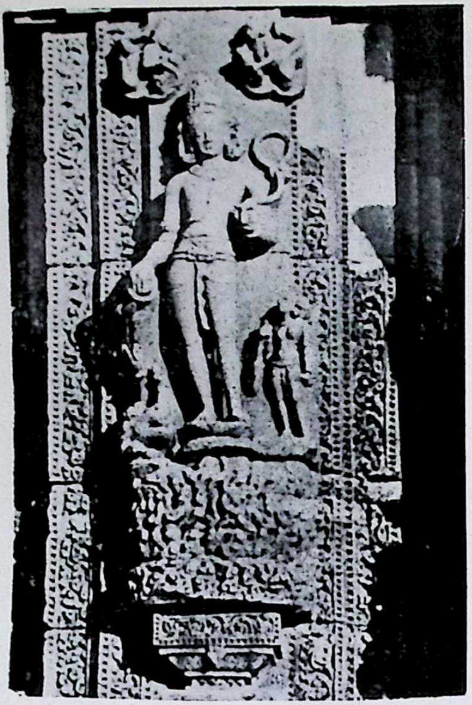

Plate 41. Varuṇa Rājārānī temple, Bhubaneswar.

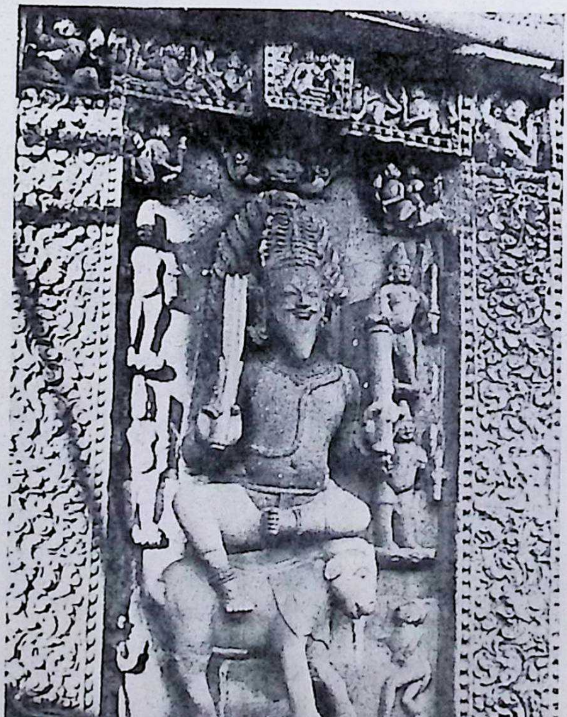

Plate 42. Agni, Liṅgarāja temple.

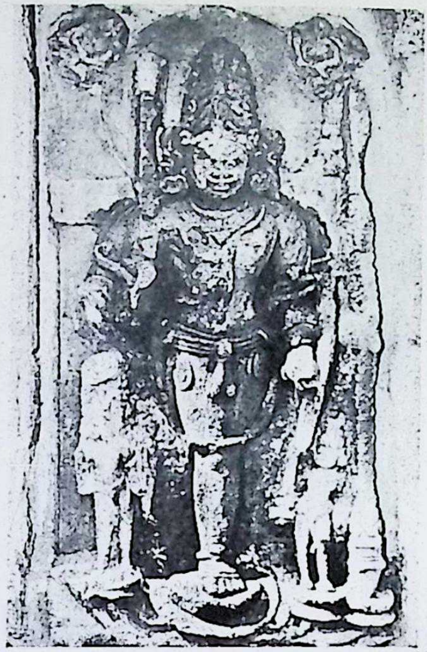

Plate 43. Ajaikapāda Bhairava
Yoginī temple, Hirapur, Puri.

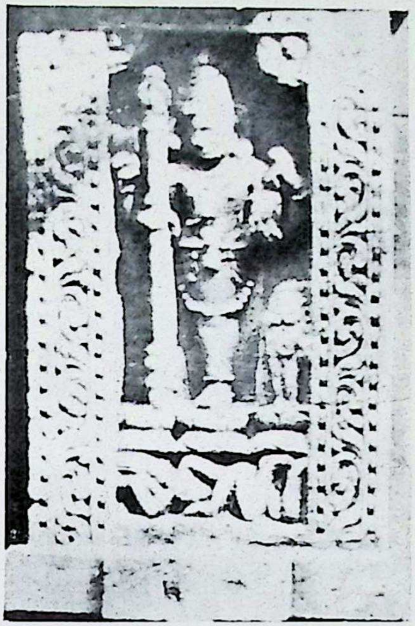

Plate 44. Ajaikapāda Bhairava Somanātha
temple, Ghoradiya, Puri.

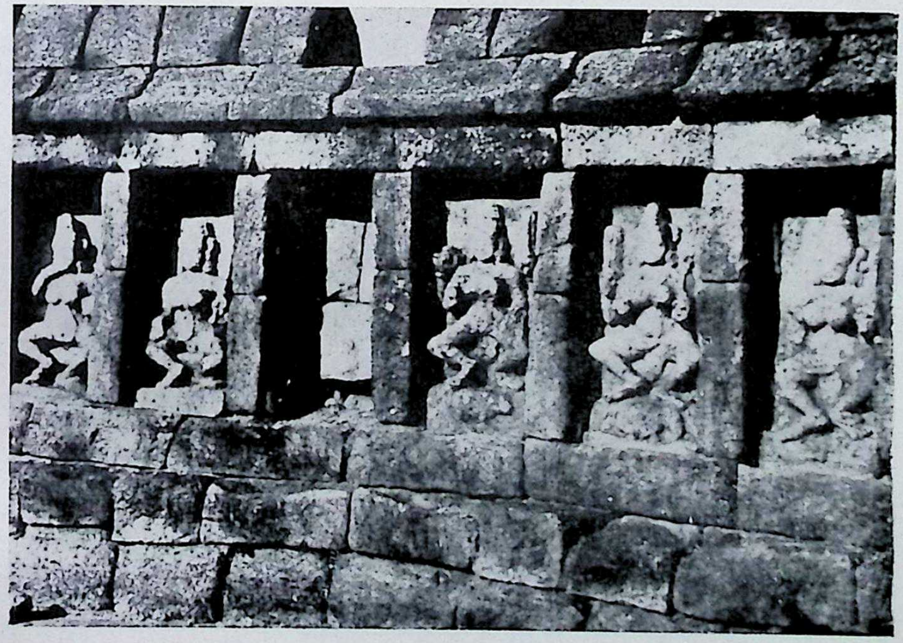

Plate 45. Yoginī sculptures, Ranipur, Jharial, Bolangir.

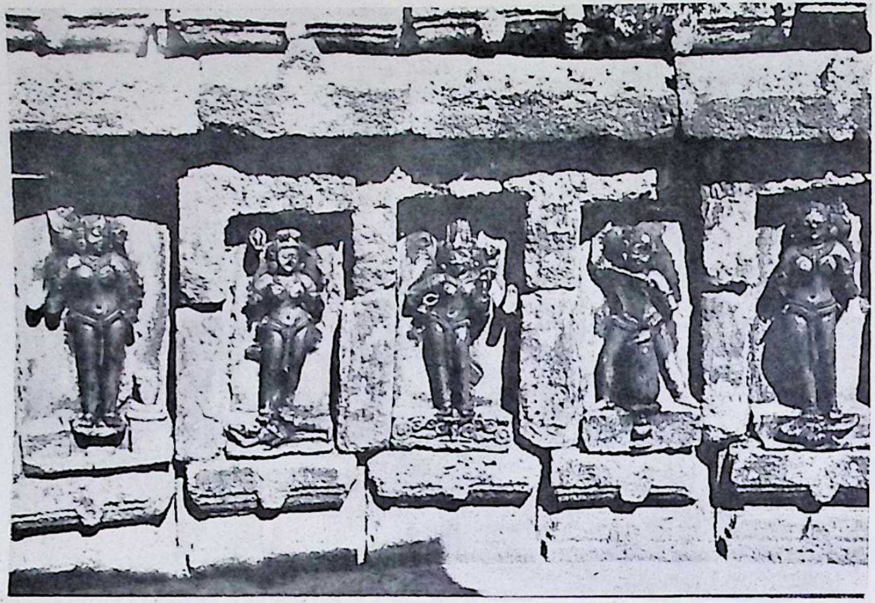

Plate 46. Yoginī sculptures, Hirapur, Puri.

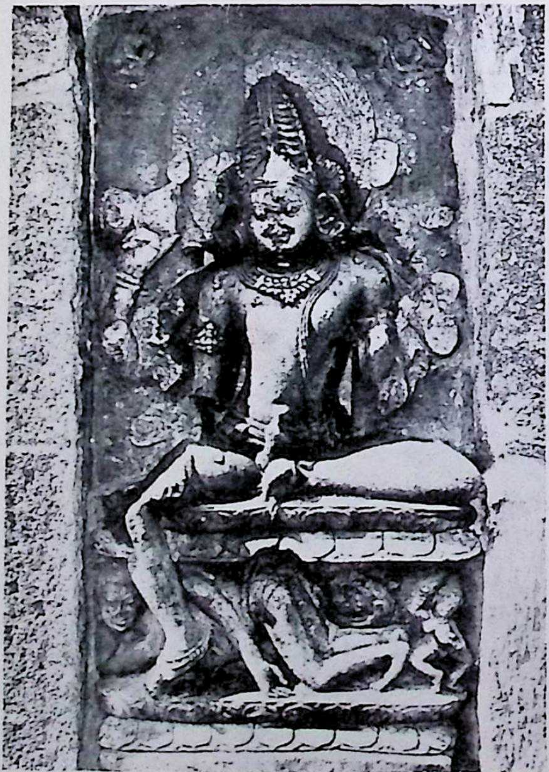

Plate 47. Bhairava Yoginī temple, Hirapur.

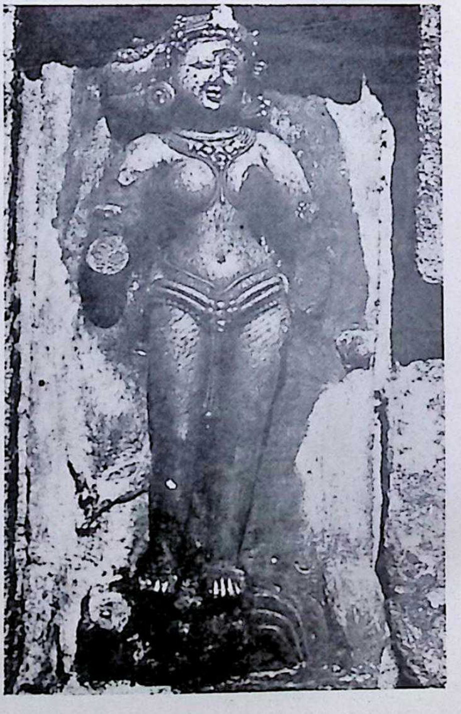

Plate 48. Yoginī (Abheravardhinī ?), Hirapur.

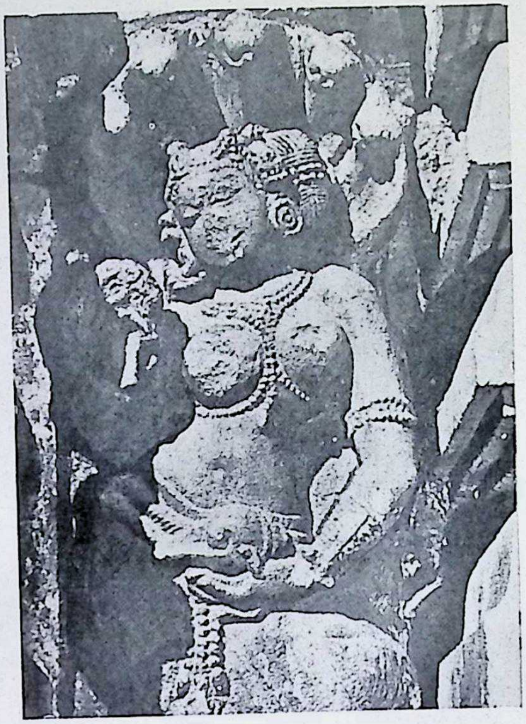

Plate 49. Nāgī Mukteśvara temple, Bhubaneswar.

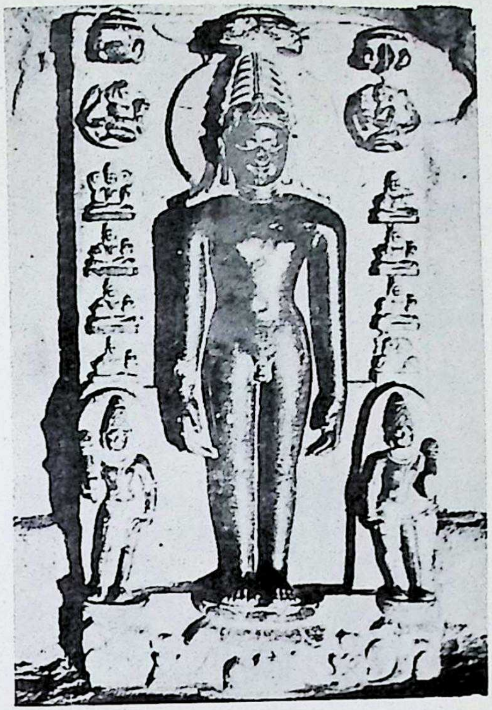

Plate 50. Ṛṣabhanātha, Māhāvīra Cave, Khandagiri.

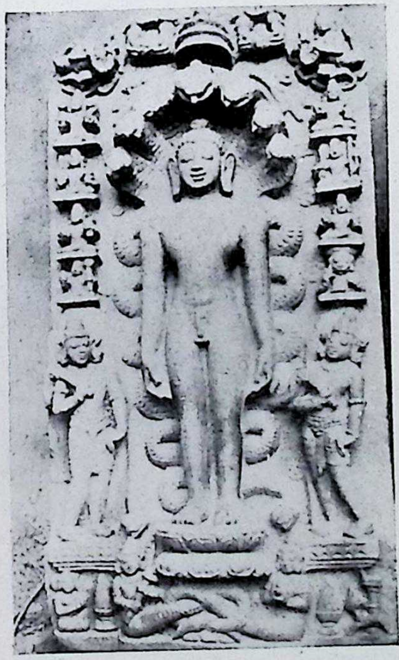

Plate 51. Pārśvanātha, Ayodhya, Balasore.

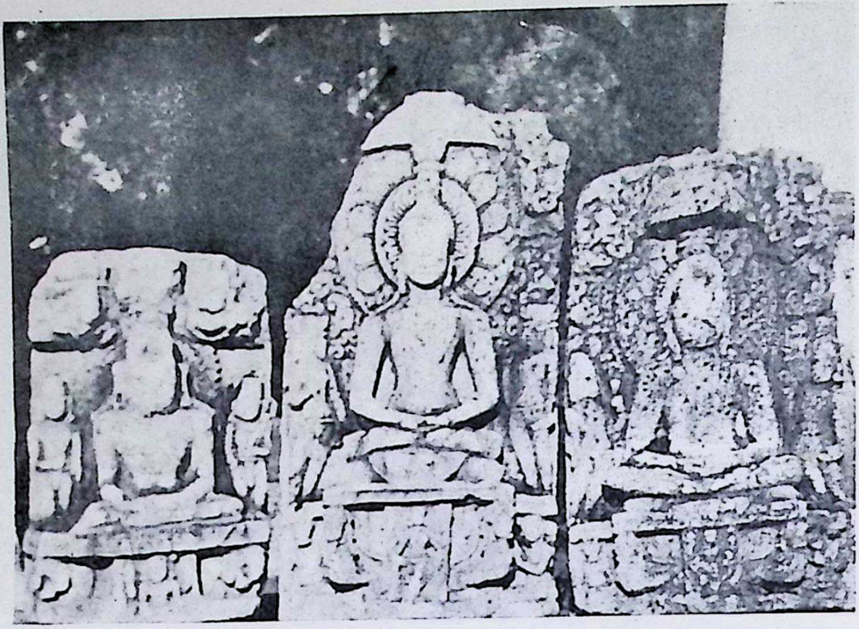

Plate 52. Tirthaṅkara sculptures, B, Singhapur, Koraput.

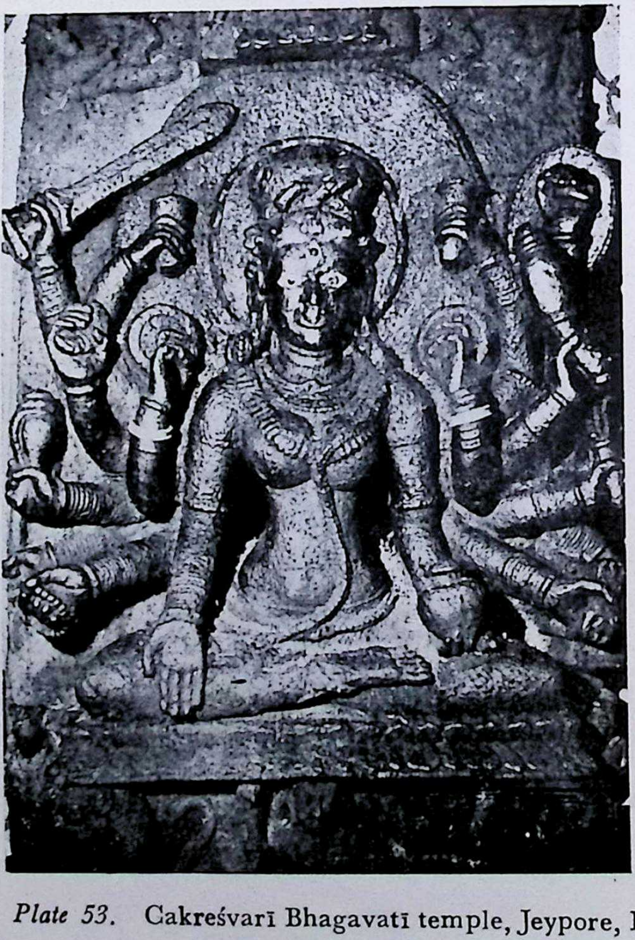

Plate 53. Cakreśvarī Bhagavatī temple, Jeypore, Koraput.

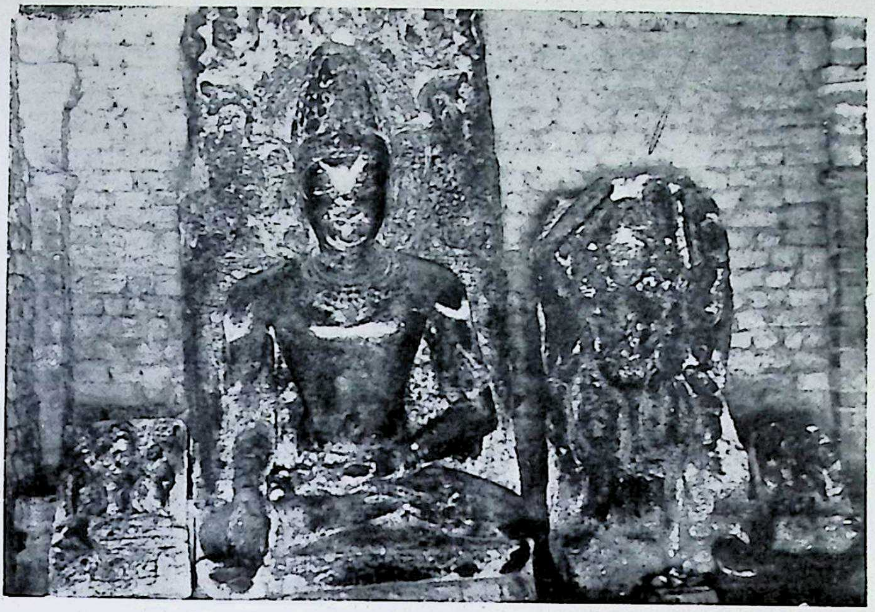

Plate 54. Buddhist sculptures, Kuruma, Puri.

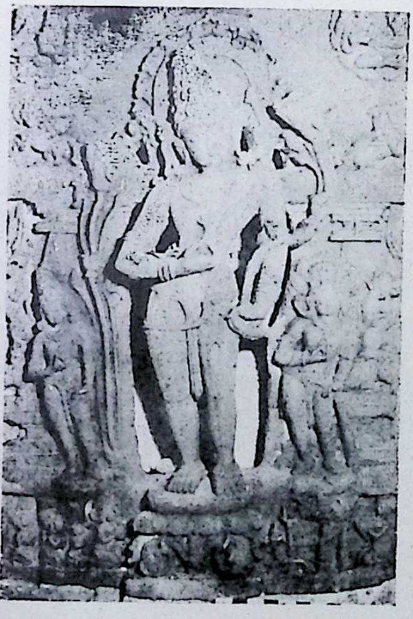

Plate 55. Mañjuśrī, Ayodhya, Balasore.

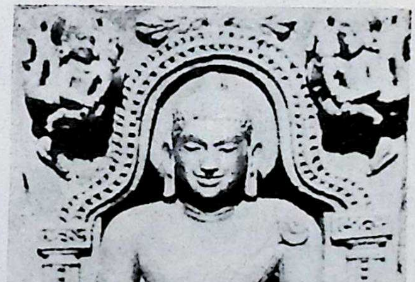

Plate 56. Buddha in *Bhūmisparsa mudrā*, Haripur, Puri.

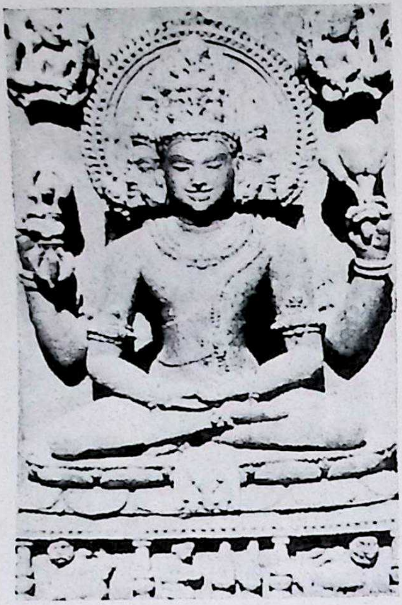

Plate 57. Vajrasatva, Haripur.

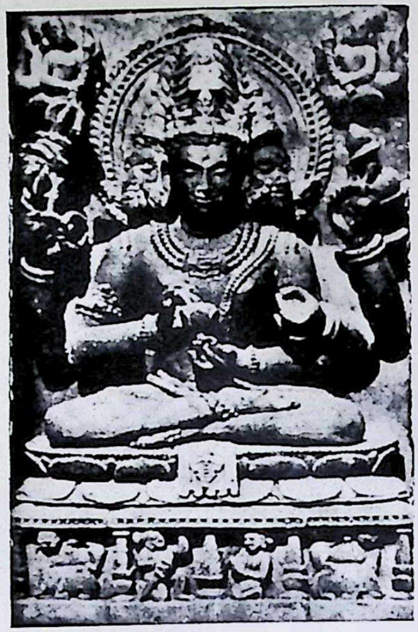

Plate 58. Buddhist deity, Haripur.

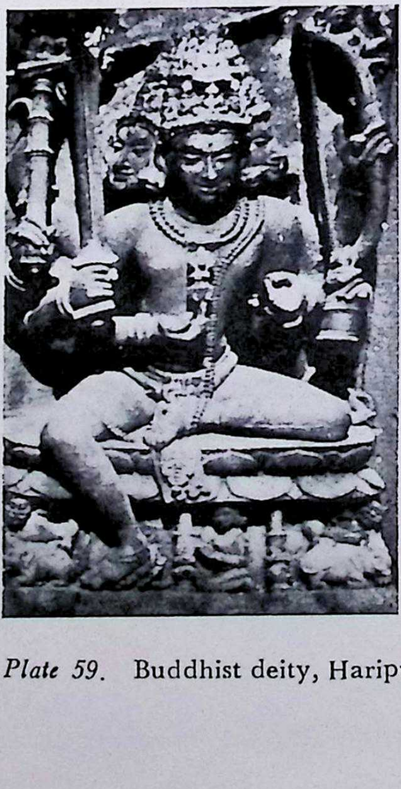

Plate 59. Buddhist deity, Haripur.

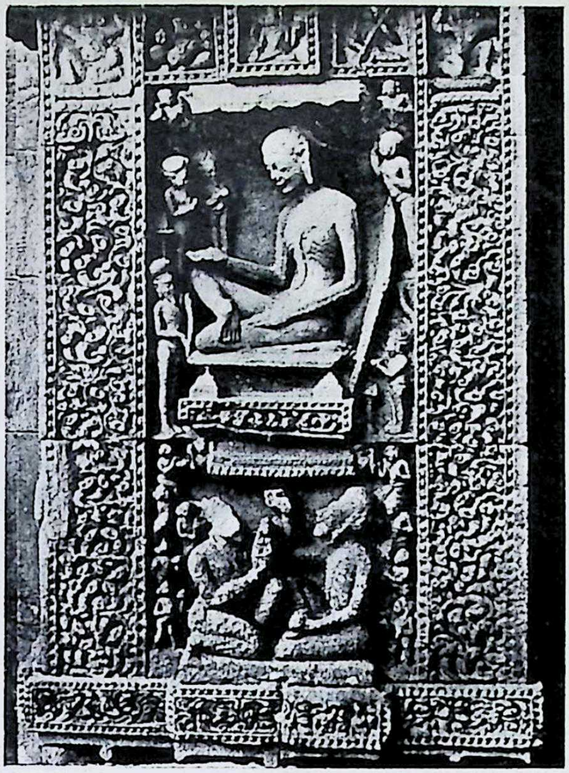

Plate 60. Religious Teacher and Disciples, Liṅgarāja temple.

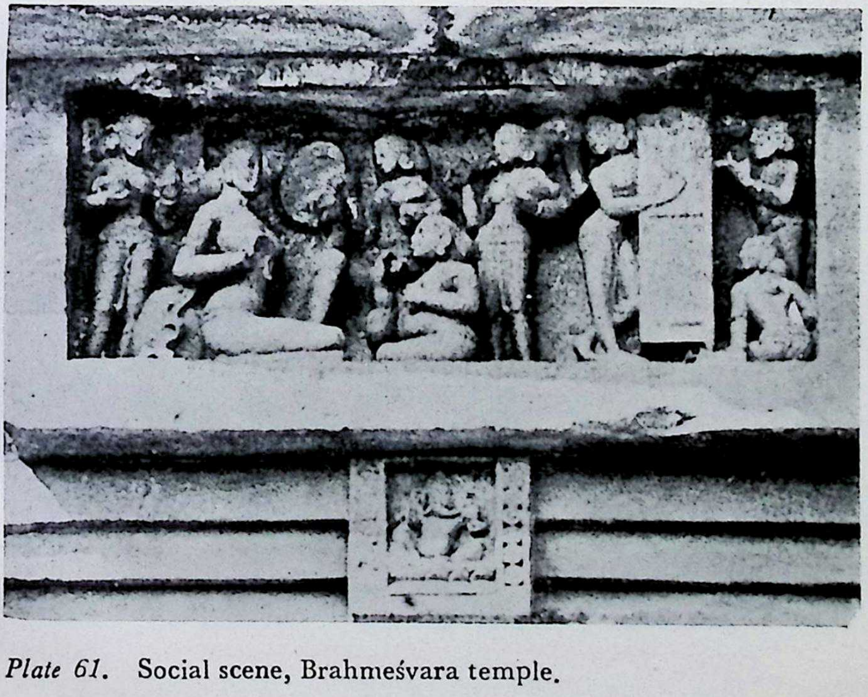

Plate 61. Social scene, Brahmeśvara temple.

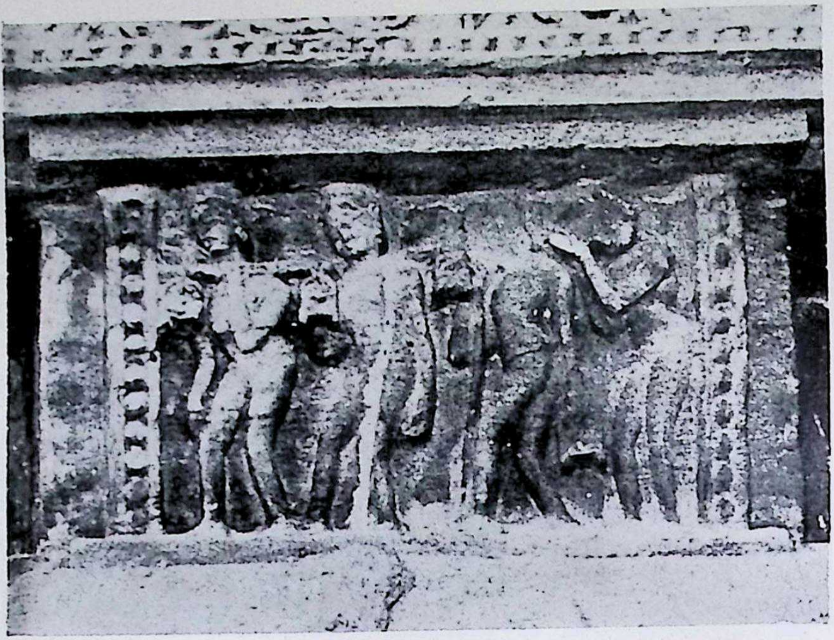

Plate 62. Social scene, Mukteśvara temple.

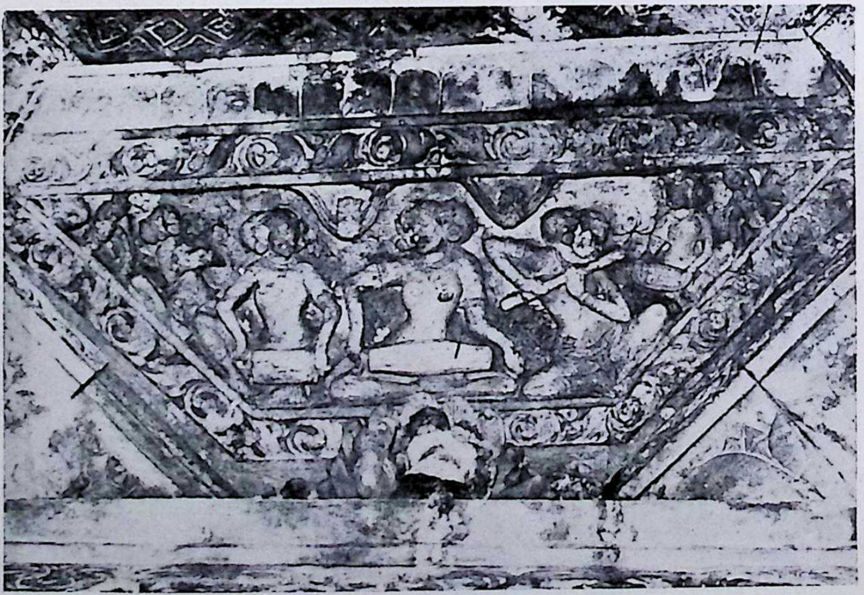

Plate 63. Musicians, ceiling of *Jagamohana* Mukteśvara temple.

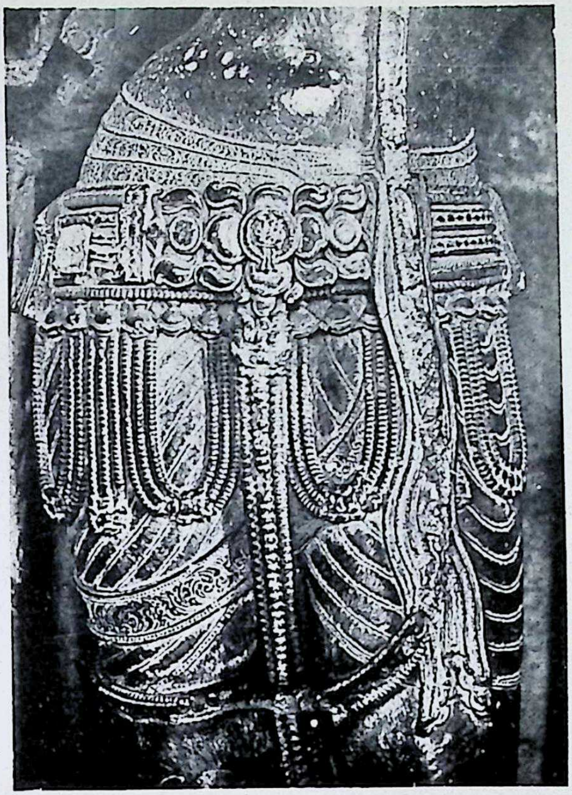

Plate 64. Dance Scene, ceiling of *Jagamohana*, Mukteśvara temple.

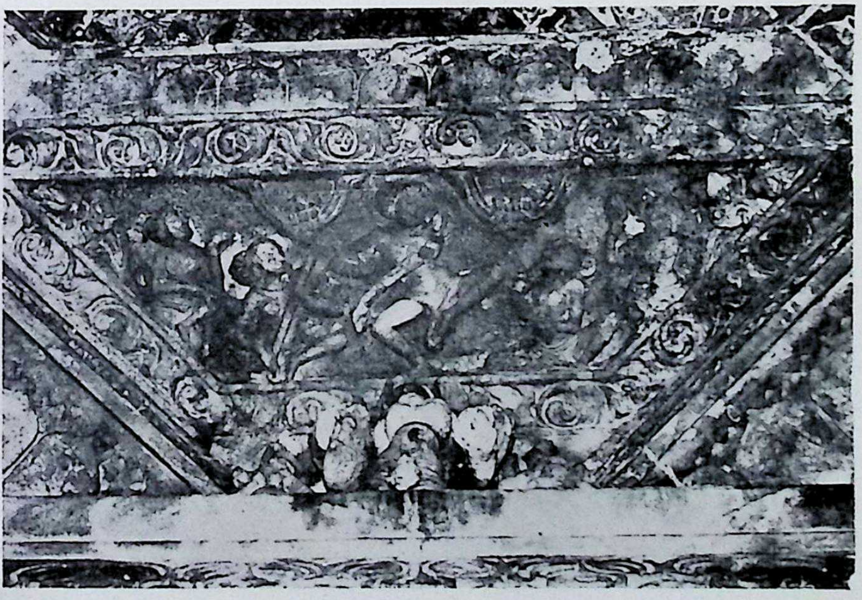

Plate 65. Lower part of Kārtikeya showing details of ornaments and cloth.

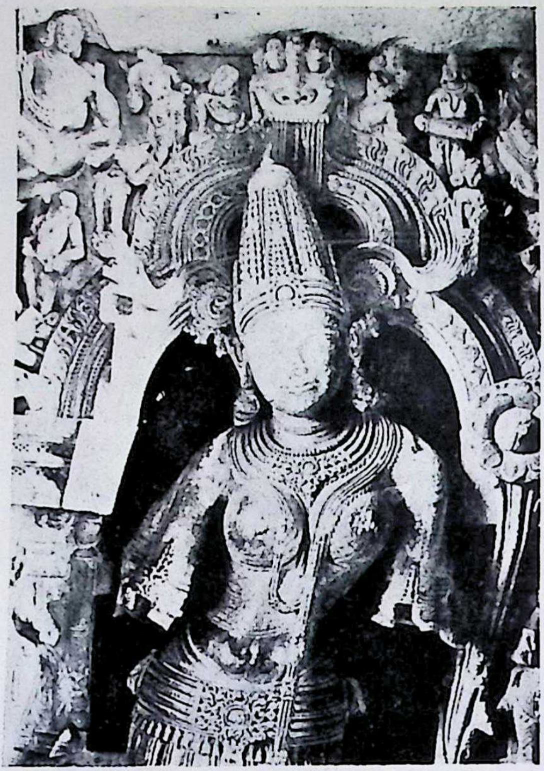

Plate 66. Upper part of Pārvatī showing details of ornaments Prabhavālī and heavenly musicians, Liṅgarāja temple.

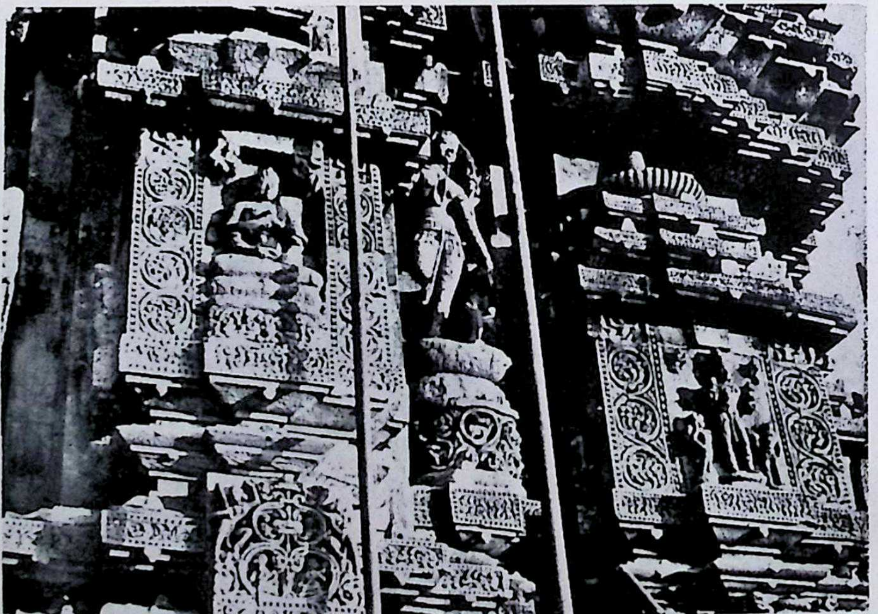

Plate 67. *Pidhamuṇḍi,* Nāyikā and Lakuliśa, Liṅgaraja temple.

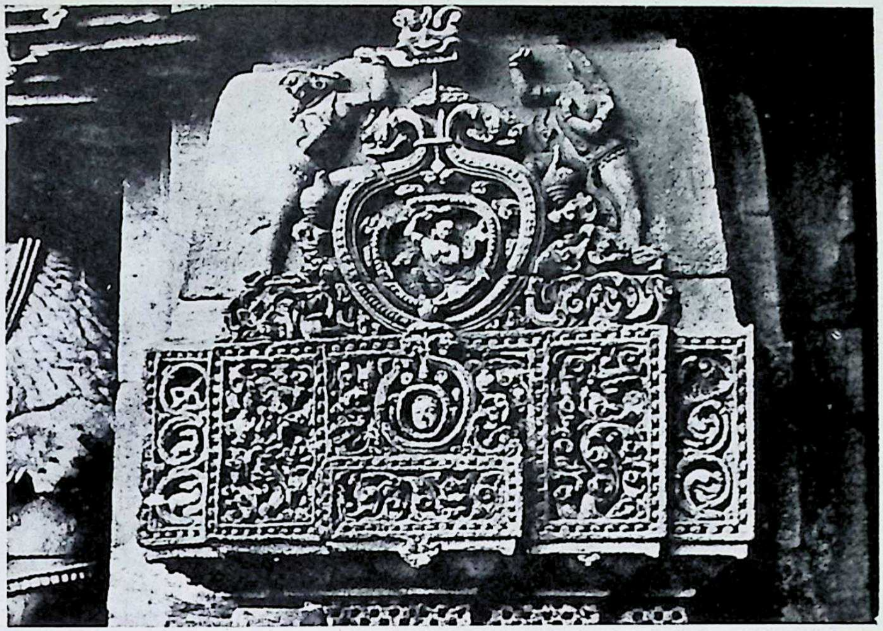

Plate 68. *Khākharā* Muṇḍi and Caitya medallion Liṅgāraja temple.

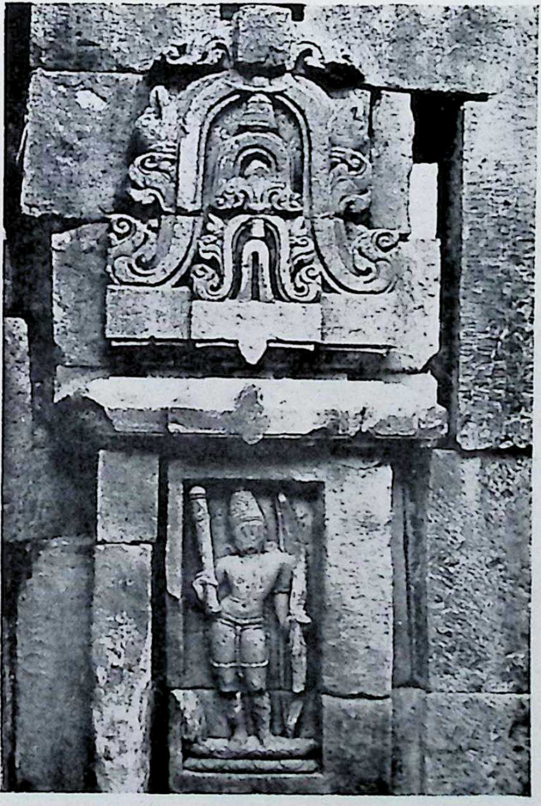

Plate 69. Caitya arch and Rāmacandra,
Maṇibhadreśvara temple.

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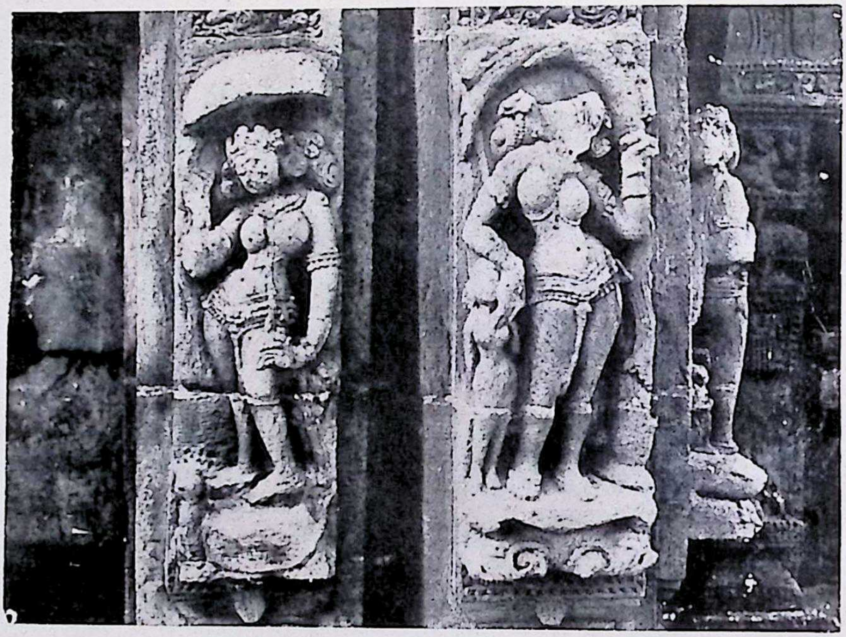

Plate 70. Yamunā and Nāyikā, Mukteśvara temple.

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Bijaya Kumar Rath (b. 1949) did his M.A. in history from the Berhampur University, Ganjam in 1970 He was initiated into research on Orissan studies by Prof. K.C. Panigrahi, M.A., D. Phil (Cal), a great teacher, scholar and archaeologist of Orissa. Mr. Rath joined the Berhampur University, first, as an university scholar and then as an U.G.C. Fellow from 1971 to 1974. He joined the State Archaeology Department, Bhubaneswar, as a Curator in 1974.

The present work was the result of his research work, done under the guidance of Prof. Panigrahi, for which he was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the Berhampur University in 1982. He has received his training in the field of archaeology from the School of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi during 1981-82.

Being an upcoming young and active field archaeologist, Mr Rath has participated in a number of excavation and exploration works in the State of Orissa, undertaken by the State Archaeology Department. He has a number of publications, based on his field work in various research journals and periodicals on topics like architecture, iconography and epigraphy.

He was also associated with editing of State Government publications like "*The Heritage of Orissa*" and "*Archaeological Survey Report of Prachi Valley*". He is one of the co-editors of "*The Journal of Orissa Research Society*", Bhubaneswar.

Presently he is working on "*Brick Temples of Orissa*" and "*Visnu Sculptures from Orissa.*

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